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Fronto
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The Complete Works of

FRONTO

(c. AD 100–c. 168)



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INTRODUCTION TO FRONTO by C. R. Haines

The Delphi Classics Catalogue



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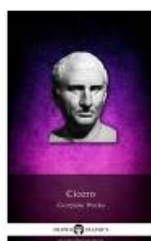
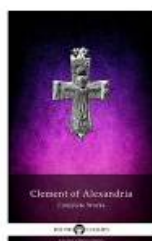
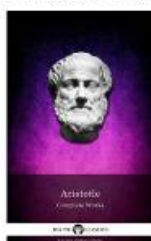
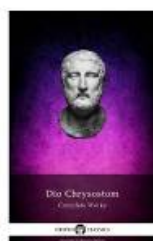
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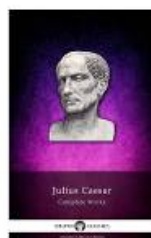
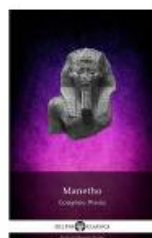
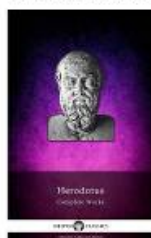
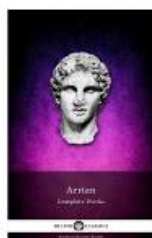
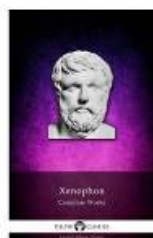
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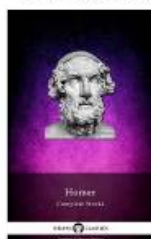
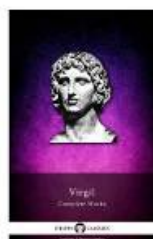
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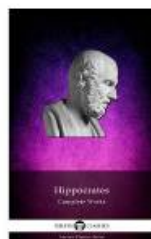
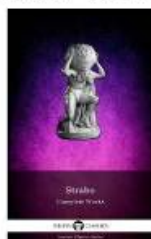
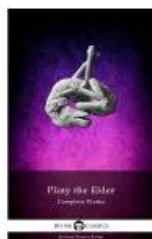
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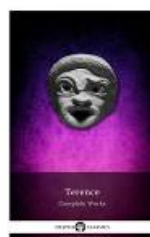
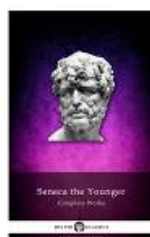
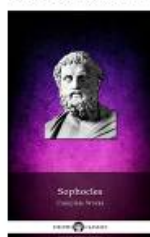
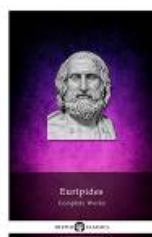
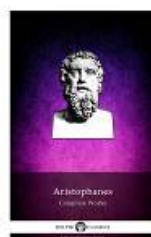
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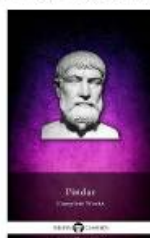
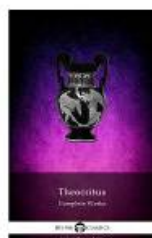
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The Complete Works of
MARCUS CORNELIUS FRONTO



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Complete Works of Fronto

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The Translations



Cirta, the capital city of the Berber Kingdom of Numidia in northern Africa, modern day Constantine, Algeria — Fronto's birthplace



General view of Constantine, 1899

CORRESPONDENCE



Translated by C. R. Haines

Born as a Roman citizen in the Numidian capital Cirta in c. AD 100, Fronto was formally educated at Rome. He rapidly attained renown as an advocate and orator, reckoned inferior only to Cicero. A much admired rhetorician, Fronto was befriended by the Emperor Antoninus Pius and taught his adopted sons Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. During his life he amassed a large fortune, erecting magnificent buildings and purchasing the famous gardens of Maecenas. In 142 he was consul for two months, but declined the proconsulship of Asia due to ill-health. His latter years were unkind to him, as he lost all his children except one daughter. His talents as an orator and rhetorician were greatly admired by his contemporaries and an important school was named after him, *Frontoniani*.

Fronto's object in his teaching was to inculcate the exact use of the Latin language in place of the artificialities of the previous century's authors, including Seneca the Younger, while encouraging the use of "unlooked-for and unexpected words", to be gleaned by the study of authors before the time of Cicero, such as Ennius, Livius Andronicus and Naevius. Fronto felt that Cicero lacked attention to refinement, though he greatly admired his letters. Little more is known of Fronto's life and his death still remains a topic of open debate, with some claiming he was a victim of the Antonine Plague that followed the Parthian War.

Prior to the nineteenth century, the only extant works ascribed to Fronto were two grammatical treatises, *De nominum verborumque differentiis* and *Exempla elocutionum*, which are now believed to have been composed by other authors. In 1815 the Italian Cardinal and philologist Angelo Mai discovered in the Ambrosian library at Milan a palimpsest manuscript, on which had been originally written some of Fronto's letters to his imperial pupils and their replies. Four years later Mai found several more sheets from the same manuscript in the Vatican. These palimpsests had originally belonged to the famous convent of St. Columbanus at Bobbio and had been

written over by the monks with the acts of the First Council of Chalcedon.

The letters from the Ambrosian palimpsest, together with the other fragments, were published at Rome in 1815, while the Vatican texts were added in 1823, as well as the end of the *Gratiarum actio pro Carthaginiensibus* from another Vatican manuscript. It was not until 1956 that Bernhard Bischoff identified a third manuscript, consisting of a single leaf, that contained fragments of Fronto's correspondence with Verus which overlapped the Milan palimpsest; however, the actual manuscript had been first published in 1750 by Dom Tassin, who conjectured that it might have been the work of Fronto.

The majority of the letters consist of Fronto's correspondence with Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, in which the character of Fronto's pupils appears in a favourable light, especially in the affection they seemed to have retained for their old master. In the surviving text, there are also letters to friends, chiefly letters of recommendation, but including one (Ad amicos 1. 19) in which Fronto complains of Aulus Gellius' attempts to procure copies of his writings for publication. The collection also features treatises on eloquence, several historical fragments and literary epistles on subjects such as the praise of smoke and dust, negligence and a dissertation on Arion, the Dionysiac poet credited with inventing the dithyramb.

Fronto's correspondence provides an invaluable window into the aristocratic life and literary culture of second century Rome. His letters reveal the author's strong stylistic views and dislike of Stoicism. Charting his family joys and sorrows, they highlight the glory and dangers of serving as a prominent figure in the palace. His correspondence also provides a detailed account of the day to day life in the Senate House, literary salons and the bustling law courts. However, their principal distinction is the historic and personal account of the relationship shared between the greatest teacher of his age and his illustrious student Marcus Aurelius, his chief correspondent.



Emperor of Rome from 138 to 161, this bust of Antoninus Pius dates to c. 150 — Glyptothek, Munich

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MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS OF MARCUS AURELIUS

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Bust of Marcus Aurelius in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, Turkey. He was Roman emperor from 161 to 180.



Angelo Mai (1782-1854) was the Italian Cardinal and philologist that rediscovered Fronto's works in the nineteenth century.



Entrance to the Ambrosian Library, Milan, Italy, where important Fronto texts were rediscovered.

VOLUME I.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF M. CORNELIUS FRONTO

Fronto to Marcus Aurelius as Caesar

? 139 A.D.

Fronto to my Lord.¹

1. In all arts, I take it, total inexperience and ignorance are preferable to a semi-experience and a half-knowledge. For he who is conscious that he knows nothing of an art aims at less, and consequently comes less to grief: in fact, diffidence excludes presumption. But when anyone parades a superficial knowledge as mastery of a subject, through false confidence he makes manifold slips. They say, too, that it is better to have kept wholly clear of the teachings of philosophy than to have tasted them superficially and, as the saying goes, with the tips of the lips; and that those turn out the most knavish who, going about the precincts of an art, turn aside or ever they have entered its portals. Yet in other arts it is possible, sometimes, to escape exposure, and for a man to be deemed, for a period, proficient in that wherein he is an ignoramus. But in the choice and arrangement of words he is detected instantly, nor can anyone make a pretence² with words for long without himself betraying that he is ignorant of them, that his judgment of them is incorrect, his estimate of them haphazard, his handling of them unskilful, and that he can distinguish neither their propriety nor their force.

2. Wherefore few indeed of our old writers have surrendered themselves to that toil, pursuit, and hazard of seeking out words with especial diligence. M. Porcius alone of the orators of all time, and his constant imitator C. Sallustius, are among these; of poets Plautus especially, and most especially Q. Ennius and his zealous rival L. Coelius, not to omit Naevius and Lucretius, Accius, too, and Caecilius, also Laberius. Besides these, certain other writers are noticeable for choiceness in special spheres, as Novius, Pomponius, and their like, in rustic and jocular and comic words, Atta in women's talk, Sisenna in erotics, Lucilius in the technical language of each art and business.

3. At this point, perhaps, you will have long been asking in what category I should place M. Tullius, who is hight the head and source of Roman eloquence. I consider him on all occasions to have used the most beautiful

words, and to have been magnificent above all other orators in embellishing the subject which he wished to set out. But he seems to me to have been far from disposed to search out words with especial care, whether from greatness of mind, or to escape toil, or from the assurance that what others can scarcely find with careful search would be his at call without the need of searching. And so, from a most attentive perusal of all his writings, I think I have ascertained that he has with the utmost copiousness and opulence handled all other kinds of words — words literal and figurative, simple and compound and, what are conspicuous everywhere in his writings, noble words, and oftentimes also exquisite ones: and yet in all his speeches you will find very few words indeed that are unexpected and unlooked for, such as are not to be hunted out save with study and care and watchfulness and the treasuring up of old poems in the memory. By an unexpected and unlooked-for word I mean one which is brought out when the hearer or reader is not expecting it or thinking of it, yet so that if you withdrew it and asked the reader himself to think of a substitute, he would be able to find either no other at all or one not so fitted to express the intended meaning. Wherefore I commend you greatly for the care and diligence you shew in digging deep for your word and fitting it to your meaning. But, as I said at first, there lies a great danger in the enterprize lest the word be applied unsuitably or with a want of clearness or a lack of refinement, as by a man of half-knowledge, for it is much better to use common and everyday words than unusual and far-fetched ones, if there is little difference in real meaning.

4. I hardly know whether it is advisable to shew how great is the difficulty, what scrupulous and anxious care must be taken, in weighing words, for fear the knowledge should check the ardour of the young and weaken their hopes of success. The transposition or subtraction or alteration of a single letter in many cases changes the force and beauty of a word and testifies to the taste or knowledge of the speaker. I may say I have noticed, when you were reading over to me what you had written and I altered a syllable in a word, that you paid no attention to it and thought it of no great consequence. I should be loth, therefore, for you not to know the immense difference made by one syllable. I should say *Os colluere*,³ but in *balneis pavementum pelluere*,⁴ not *colluere*; I should, however, say *lacrimis genas lavere*,⁵ not *pelluere* or *colluere*; but *vestimenta lavare*,⁶ not *lavere*; again, *sudorem et pulverem abluere*,⁷ not

lavare; but it is more elegant to say *maculam eluere* than *abluere*; if, however, the stain had soaked in and could not be taken out without some damage, I should use the Plautine word *elavere*.⁸ Then there are besides *mulsum diluere*,⁹ *fauces proluere*,¹⁰ *unguium iumento subluere*.¹¹

5. So many are the examples of one and the same word, with the change of a syllable or letter, being used in various ways and meanings; just as, by Hercules, I should speak with a nicer accuracy of a face painted with rouge, a body splashed with mud, a cup smeared with honey, a sword-point dipped in poison, a stake daubed with bird-lime.

6. Someone maybe will ask, Who, pray, is to prevent me saying *vestimenta lavere* rather than *lavare*, *sudorem lavare* rather than *abluere*? As for you, indeed, no one will have any right to interfere with or prescribe for you in that matter, as you are a free man born of free parents, and have more than a knight's income, and are asked your opinion in the Senate; we, however, who have dedicated ourselves in dutiful service to the ears of the cultured must needs with the utmost care study these nice distinctions and minutiae. Some absolutely work at their words with crowbar and maul as if they were flints; others, however, grave them with burin and mallet as though they were little gems. For you it will be better, for greater deftness in searching out words, to take it to heart when corrected, than to demur or flag when detected in a fault. For if you give up searching you will never find; if you go on searching you will find.

7. Finally, you seemed even to have thought it a work of supererogation when I changed your order of a word, so that the epithet *three-headed* should come before the name *Geryon*. Bear this, too, in mind: it frequently happens that words in a speech, by a change in their order, become essential or superfluous. I should be right in speaking of a *ship with three decks*, but *ship* would be a superfluous addition to *three-decker*. For there is no danger¹² of anyone thinking that by *three-decker* was meant a litter, a landau, or a lute. Then, again, when you were pointing out why the Parthians wore loose wide sleeves, you wrote, I think, to this effect, that the heat was *suspended*¹³ by the openings in the robe. Can you tell me, pray, how the heat is suspended? Not that I find fault with you for pushing out somewhat boldly¹⁴ in the metaphorical use of a word, for I agree with Ennius his opinion that "an orator should be bold." By all means let him be bold, as Ennius lays down, but let

him in no case deviate from the meaning which he would express. So I greatly approved and applauded your intention when you set about seeking for a word; what I found fault with was the want of care shewn in selecting a word which made nonsense. For by openings in sleeves, which we occasionally see to be loose and flowing, heat cannot be suspended: heat can be dispelled through the openings of a robe, it can be thrown off, it can radiate away, it can be given a passage, it can be diverted, it can be ventilated out — it can be almost anything, in fact, rather than be suspended, a word which means that a thing is held up from above, not drawn away through wide passages.

8. After that I advised you as to the preparatory studies necessary for the writing of history,¹⁵ since that was your desire. As that subject would require a somewhat lengthy discussion, I make an end, that I overstep not the bounds of a letter. If you wish to be written to on that subject too, you must remind me again and again.

Fronto to Marcus Aurelius as Caesar

? 139 A.D.

To my Lord.

Gratia¹⁶ came home last night. But to me it has been as good as having Gratia, that you have turned your “maxims” so brilliantly; the one which I received to-day almost faultlessly, so that it could be put in a book of Sallust’s without jarring or shewing any inferiority. I am happy, merry, hale, in a word become young again, when you make such progress. It is no light thing that I shall require; but what I remember to have been of service to myself, I cannot but require of you also. You must turn the same maxim twice or thrice, just as you have done with that little one. And so turn longer ones two or three times diligently, boldly. Whatever you venture on, such are your abilities, you will accomplish: but, indeed, with toil have you coveted a task that is truly toilsome, but fair and honourable and attained by few you have got (it) perfectly out. This exercise will be the greatest help to you in speech making; undoubtedly, too, the excerpting of some sentences from the *Jugurtha* or the *Catiline*. If the Gods are kind, on your return from Rome I will exact again from you your daily quota of verses. Greet my Lady, your mother.¹⁷

? 139 A.D.

To my master.

I have received two letters¹⁸ from you at once. In one of these you scolded me and pointed out that I had written a sentence carelessly; in the other, however, you strove to encourage my efforts with praise. Yet I protest to you by my health, by my mother's and yours, that it was the former letter which gave me the greater pleasure, and that, as I read it, I cried out again and again *O happy that I am! Are you then so happy*, someone will say, *for having a teacher to shew you how to write a maxim more deftly, more clearly, more tersely, more elegantly?* No, that is not my reason for calling myself happy. What, then, is it? It is that I learn from you to speak the truth.¹⁹ That matter — of speaking the truth — is precisely what is so hard for Gods and men: in fact, there is no oracle so truth-telling as not to contain within itself something ambiguous or crooked or intricate, whereby the unwary may be caught and, interpreting the answer in the light of their own wishes, realize its fallaciousness only when the time is past and the business done. But the thing is profitable, and clearly it is the custom to excuse such things merely as pious fraud and delusion. On the other hand, your fault-findings or your guiding reins, whichever they be, shew me the way at once without guile and feigned words. And so I ought to be grateful to you for this, that you teach me before all to speak the truth at the same time and to hear the truth. A double return, then, would be due, and this you will strive to put it beyond my power to pay. If you will have no return made, how can I requite you like with like, if not by obedience? Disloyal, however, to myself, I preferred that you, moved by excess of care . . . since I had those days free, I had the chance . . . of doing some good work and making many extracts . . . Farewell, my good master, my best of masters. I rejoice, best of orators, that you have so become my friend. My Lady²⁰ greets you.

Hail my best of masters.

If any sleep comes back to you after the wakeful nights of which you complain, I beseech you write to me and, above all, I beseech you take care of your health. Then hide somewhere and bury that “axe of Tenedos,”²¹ which you hold over us, and do not, whatever you do, give up your intention of pleading cases, or along with yours let all lips be dumb.

You say that you have composed something in Greek²² which pleases you more than almost anything you have written. Are you not he who gave me such a castigation for writing in Greek? However, I must now, more than ever, write in Greek. Do you ask *why*? I wish to make trial whether what I have not learnt may not more readily come to my aid, since what I have learnt leaves me in the lurch. But, an you really loved me, you would have sent me that new piece you are so pleased with. However, I read you here in spite of yourself and, indeed, that alone is my life and stay.

It is a sanguinary theme you have sent me. I have not yet read the extract from Coelius which you sent, nor shall I read it until I, on my part, have hunted up my wits. But my Caesar-speech²³ grips me with its hooked talons. Now, if never before, I find what a task it is to round and shape²⁴ three or five lines and to take time over writing. Farewell, breath of my life. Should I not burn with love of you, who have written to me as you have! What shall I do? I cannot cease. Last year it befell me in this very place,²⁵ and at this very time, to be consumed with a passionate longing for my mother. This year you inflame that my longing. My Lady²⁶ greets you.

Fronto to Marcus Aurelius as Caesar

? 139 A.D.

*A Discourse on Love*²⁷

1. This is the third letter, beloved Boy, that I am sending you on the same theme, the first by the hand of Lysias, the son of Kephalus, the second of Plato, the philosopher,²⁸ and the third, indeed, by the hand of this foreigner, in speech little short of a barbarian, but as regards judgment, as I think, not

wholly wanting in sagacity. And I write now without trenching at all upon those previous writings, and so do not you disregard the discourse as saying what has been already said. But if the present treatise seem to you to be longer than those which were previously sent through Lysias and Plato, let this be a proof to you that I can claim in fair words to be at no loss for words. But you must consider now whether my words are no less true than new.

2. No doubt, O Boy, you will wish to know at the very beginning of my discourse how it is that I, who am not in love, long with such eagerness for the very same things as lovers. I will tell you, therefore, first of all how this is. He who is ever so much a lover is, by Zeus, gifted with no keener sight than I who am no lover, but *I* can discern your beauty as well as anyone else, aye, far more accurately, I might say, even than your lover. But, just as we see in the case of fever patients, and those who have taken right good exercise in the gymnasium, the same result proceeds from different causes. They are both thirsty, the one from his malady, the other from his exercise. It has been my lot also to suffer some such malady from love

3. But me you shall not come near to your ruin, nor associate with me to any detriment, but to your every advantage. For it is rather by non-lovers that beautiful youths are benefited and preserved, just as plants are by waters. For neither fountains nor rivers are in love with plants, but by going near them and flowing past them they make them bloom and thrive. Money given by me you would be right in calling a gift, but given by a lover a quittance. And the children of prophets say that to gods also is the thank-offering among sacrifices more acceptable than the sin-offering, for the one is offered by the prosperous for the preservation and possession of their goods, the other by the wretched for the averting of ills. Let this suffice to be said on what is expedient and beneficial both to you and to him.

4. But if it is right that he should receive aid from you . . . you set this on a firm basis . . . you framed this love for him and devised Thessalian love-charms owing to his insatiable desire . . . unless you have manifestly done wrong.

5. And do not ignore the fact that you are yourself wronged and subjected to no small outrage in this, that all men know and speak openly thus of you, that he is your lover; and so, by anticipation and before being guilty of any such things,²⁹ you abide the imputation of being guilty. Consequently the

generality of the citizens call you the man's darling; but I shall keep your name unsullied and inviolate. For as far as I am concerned you shall be called *Beautiful*,³⁰ not *Darling*. But if the other use this name as his by right because his desire is greater, let him know that his desire is not greater, but more importunate. Yet with flies and gnats the especial reason why we wave them away and brush them off is because they fly at us most impudently and importunately. It is this, indeed, that makes the wild beast shun the hunter most of all, and the bird the fowler. And, in fact, all animals avoid most those that especially lie in wait for and pursue them.

6. But if anyone thinks that beauty is more glorified and honoured by reason of its lovers, he is totally mistaken. For you, the beautiful ones, through your lovers, run the risk of your beauty winning no credence with hearers, but through us non-lovers you establish your reputation for beauty on a sure basis. At any rate, if anyone who had never seen you were to enquire after your personal appearance, he would put faith in my praises, knowing that I am not in love; but he would disbelieve the other as praising not truthfully but lovingly. As many, then, as are maimed or ugly or deformed would naturally pray for lovers to be theirs, for they would find no others to court them but those who approach them under the madness and duress of love; but you, such is your beauty, cannot reap any greater advantage from a lover. For non-lovers have need of you no less than they. And indeed, to those who are really beautiful, lovers are as useless as flatterers to those who deserve praise. It is sailors and steersmen and captains of warships and merchants, and those that in other ways travel upon it, who give excellence and glory and honour and gain and ornament to the sea — not, heaven help us, dolphins that can live only in the sea: but for beautiful boys it is we who cherish and praise them disinterestedly, not lovers, whose life, deprived of their darlings, would be unlivable. And you will find, if you look into it, that lovers are the cause of the utmost disgrace. But all who are right-minded must shun disgrace, the young most of all, since the evil attaching to them at the beginning of a long life will rest upon them the longer.

7. As, then, in the case of sacred rites and sacrifices, so also of life, it behoves above all those who are entering upon them to have a care for their good name
. For indeed by such adornments lovers do them no honour, but

are themselves guilty of affectation and display, and, as it were, vulgarize the mysteries³¹ of love. Your lover, too, as they say, composes some amatory writings about you in the hope of enticing you with this bait, if with no other, and attracting you to himself and catching you; but such things are a disgrace and an insult and a sort of licentious cry, the outcome of stinging lust, such as those of wild beasts and fed cattle, that from sexual desire bellow or neigh or low or howl. Like to these are the lyrics of lovers. If, therefore, you submit yourself to your lover to enjoy where and when he pleases, awaiting neither time that is fitting nor leisure nor privacy, then, like a beast in the frenzy of desire, will he make straight for you and be eager to go to it nothing ashamed.

8. I will add but one thing before I conclude my discourse, that we are formed by nature to praise and admire, but not to love, all the gifts of the gods and their works that have come for the use and delight and benefit of men — those indeed of them which are wholly and in every way divine, I mean the earth and sky and sun and sea — while in the case of some other beautiful things of less worth, and formed to fulfil a less comely part, these at once are the subject of envy and love and emulation and desire. And some are in love with wealth, others again with rich viands, and others with wine. In the number and category of such is beauty reckoned by lovers, like wealth and viands and strong drink; but by us, who admire, indeed, but love not, like sun and sky and earth and sea, for such things are too good for any love and beyond its reach.

9. One thing more will I tell you, and if you will pass it on to all other boys, your words will seem convincing. Very likely you have heard from your mother, or from those who brought you up, that among flowers there is one that is indeed in love with the sun and undergoes the fate of lovers, lifting itself up when the sun rises, following his motions as he runs his course, and when he sets, turning itself about; but it takes no advantage thereby, nor yet, for all its love for the sun, does it find him the kinder. Least esteemed, at any rate, of plants and flowers, it is utilized neither for festal banquets nor for garlands of gods or men. Maybe, O Boy, you would like to see this flower.³² Well, I will shew it you if we go for a walk outside the city walls as far as the Ilissus

Hail my best of masters.

1. Go on, threaten as much as you please and attack me with hosts of arguments, yet shall you never drive your lover, I mean me, away; nor shall I the less assert that I love Fronto, or love him the less, because you prove with reasons so various and so vehement that those who are less in love must be more helped and indulged. So passionately, by Hercules, am I in love with you, nor am I frightened off by the law you lay down, and even if you shew yourself more forward and facile to others, who are non-lovers, yet will I love you while I have life and health.

For the rest, having regard to the close packing of ideas, the inventive subtleties, and the felicity of your championship of your cause, I hardly like, indeed, to say that you have far outstripped those Atticists, so self-satisfied and challenging, and yet I cannot but say so. For I am in love and this, if nothing else, ought, I think, verily to be allowed to lovers, that they should have greater joy in the triumph of their loved ones. Ours, then, is the triumph, ours, I say. Is it . . . preferable to talk philosophy under ceilings rather than under plane-trees, within the city bounds than without its walls, scorning delights than with Lais herself sitting at our side or sharing our home? Nor can I “make a cast” which to beware of more, the law which an orator³³ of our time has laid down about this Lais, or my master’s dictum about Plato.

2. This I can without rashness affirm: if that Phaedrus of yours ever really existed, if he was ever away from Socrates, Socrates never felt for Phaedrus a more passionate longing than I for the sight of you all these days: days do I say? months I mean . . . unless he is straightway seized with love of you. Farewell, my greatest treasure beneath the sky, my glory. It is enough to have had such a master. My Lady mother sends you greeting.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

Probably from Naples 139 A.D.

To my master.

When *you* rest and when *you* do what is good for your health, then am I, too, the better for it. Humour yourself and be lazy. My verdict, then, is: you

have acted rightly in taking pains to cure your arm.³⁴ I, too, have done something to-day since one o'clock on my couch, for I have been successful with nearly all the ten similes; in the ninth I call you in as my ally and adjutant, for it did not respond so readily to my efforts in dealing with it. It is the one of the inland lake in the island Aenaria;³⁵ in that lake there is another island, it, too, inhabited. From this we draw a certain simile. Farewell, sweetest of souls. My Lady³⁶ greets you.

Fronto to Marcus Aurelius as Caesar

? 139 A.D.

To my Lord.

1. As to the simile, which you say you are puzzling over and for which you call me in as your ally and adjutant in finding the clue, you will not take it amiss, will you, if I look for the clue to that fancy within your breast and your father's³⁷ breast? Just as the island lies in the Ionian or Tyrrhenian sea, or, maybe, rather in the Adriatic, or, if it be some other sea, give it its right name — as then that sea-girt island (Aenaria) itself receives and repels the ocean waves, and itself bears the whole brunt of attack from fleets, pirates, sea-monsters and storms, yet in a lake within protects another island safely from all dangers and difficulties, while that other nevertheless shares in all its delights and pleasures (for that island in the inland lake is, like the other, washed by the waters, like it catches the health-giving breezes, like it is inhabited, like it looks out on the sea), so your father bears on his own shoulders the troubles and difficulties of the Roman empire while you he safeguards safely in his own tranquil breast, the partner in his rank and glory and in all that is his. Accordingly you can use this simile in a variety of ways, when you return thanks to your father,³⁸ on which occasion you should be most full and copious. For there is nothing that you can say in all your life with more honour or more truth or more liking than that which concerns the setting forth of your father's praises.³⁹ Whatever simile I may subsequently suggest will not please you so much as this one which concerns your father. I know this as well as you feel it. Consequently I will not myself give you any other simile, but will shew you the method of finding them out for yourself.

You must send me any similes you search out and find by the method shewn you for that purpose, that if they prove neat and skilful I may rejoice and love you.

2. Now, in the first place, you are aware that a simile is used for the purpose of setting off a thing or discrediting it, or comparing, or depreciating, or amplifying it, or of making credible what is scarcely credible. Where nothing of the kind is required, there will be no room for a simile. Hereafter when you compose a simile for a subject in hand, just as, if you were a painter, you would notice the characteristics of the object you were painting, so must) T ou do in writing. Now, the characteristics of a thing you will pick out from many points of view, the likenesses of kind, the likenesses of form, the whole, the parts, the individual traits, the differences, the contraries, the consequences and the resultants, the names, the accidents, the elements, and generally everything from which arguments are drawn, the point in fact so often dwelt upon when we were dealing with the commonplaces of the arguments of Theodorus.⁴⁰ If any of them have slipped your memory, it will not be amiss for us to go over them afresh when time serves. In this simile, which I have sketched out about your father and you, I have taken one of the accidentals of the subject, the identity of the safety and the enjoyment. Now it remains for you, by those ways and paths which I have pointed out above, to discover how you may most conveniently come at your Aenaria.

3. The pain in my elbow is not much better. Farewell, my Lord, with your rare abilities. Give my greeting to my Lady your mother. On another occasion we will follow out,⁴¹ with more care and exactness, the whole art of simile-making; now I have only touched upon the heads of it.

Eulogy of Smoke and Dust

? 139 A.D.

Fronto to his own Caesar.

1. The majority of readers may perhaps from the heading despise the subject, on the ground that nothing serious could be made of smoke and dust. You, with your excellent abilities, will soon see whether my labour is lost or well laid out.

2. But the subject seems to require a little to be said first on the method of composition, for no writing of this kind of sufficient note exists in the Roman tongue,⁴² except some attempts by poets in comedies or Atellane farces. Anyone who practises this kind of composition will choose out an abundance of thoughts and pack them closely and cleverly interweave them, but will not stuff in superfluously many duplicate words, nor forget to round off every sentence concisely and skilfully. It is different with forensic speeches, where we take especial care that many sentences shall end now and again somewhat roughly and clumsily. But here, on the contrary, pains must be taken that there should be nothing left uncouth and disconnected, but that everything, as in a fine robe, should be woven with borders and trimmed with edgings. Finally, as the last lines in an epigram ought to have some sparkle, so the sentence should be closed with some sort of fastening or brooch.

3. But the chief thing to be aimed at is to please. For this kind of discourse is not meant as a speech for the defence in a criminal trial, nor to carry a law, nor to hearten an army, nor to impassion the multitude, but for pleasantry and amusement. The topic, however, must everywhere be treated as if it were an important and splendid one, and trifling things must be likened and compared to great ones. Finally, the highest merit in this kind of discourse is an attitude of seriousness. Tales of gods or men must be brought in where appropriate; so, too, pertinent verses and proverbs that are applicable, and ingenious fictions, provided that the fiction is helped out by some witty reasoning.

4. One of the chief difficulties, however, is so to marshal our materials that their order may rest on logical connexion. The fault for which Plato blames Lysias in the *Phaedrus*, that he has mingled his thoughts in such careless confusion that the first could change places with the last and the last with the first without any loss, is one which we can only escape if we arrange our arguments in classes, and so concatenate them, not in a scattered way and indiscriminately piled together like a dish of mixed ingredients, but so that the preceding thought in some sort overlaps the subsequent one and dovetails into it; that the second thought may begin where the first left off; for so we seem to step rather than jump from one to the other.

5. But these do not . . . Variety even with some sacrifice is more welcome in the discourse than a correct continuity . . . Merry things must be severely said, brave things with a smile only let that sweetness be untainted

and chaste, of Tusculan and Ionian strain, that is in the style of Cato or Herodotus In every case it is easier to master the method of speaking than to possess the power of performing to wish (others) well and to pray for their welfare, things which are compassed by voice and mind without aid.

6. Accordingly the more generously disposed a man shews himself, the more persons will he praise, nor those only whom others before him decked with praises; but he will choose out gods and men that have been most passed by in the praises of others, and there give proofs of his generous disposition, just as a farmer shews his industry, if he sows a field never before ploughed, and a priest his devotion, if he sacrifices at a desolate and inaccessible shrine.

7. I will therefore praise gods who are indeed not much in evidence in the matter of praises, but are very much in evidence in the experience and life of men, *Smoke and Dust*, without whom neither altars, nor hearths, nor highways, as people say, nor paths can be used. But if any cavil at this, whether Smoke can be counted among gods, let him consider that Winds too are held to be gods and though they can scarcely be distinguished from Smoke, Clouds and Mists, are reckoned goddesses and are seen in the sky, and according to the poets gods “are clad in clouds,”⁴³ and a cloud shielded from onlookers Jove and Juno as they couched.⁴⁴ Again, and this is a property peculiar to the divine nature, you cannot grasp smoke in the hand any more than sunlight, nor bind nor beat nor keep it in nor, if there be the slightest chink open, shut it out

Eulogy of Negligence

? 139 A.D.

Fronto to his own Caesar.

1 For those, who are too anxious in the performance of their duties, rely too little on friendship I have taken upon myself to indite the praises of *Negligence*, and the reason why I have never to this day indited them, that too, as the subject demands, I neglect to give is checked by self-control. Generally too is the mildness praised, which readily pardons the sins of men, but unless you good-naturedly neglect offences, you are not likely to deal over mildly with them.

2. A man may think negligence to be unsafe and exposed to dangers, but my view is clean contrary, that it is diligence which is much much more liable to perils. For there is not one who takes the trouble to lay traps for negligence, judging that even without a trap it would be easy work to take in a negligent man always and everywhere and at pleasure: against the diligent, however, and the wide-awake and those who watch over their wealth, wiles and deceptions and traps are made ready. So general is it for negligence to be safeguarded by contempt, diligence to be assailed by craft. Mistakes too, committed through negligence are more readily pardoned and for kindnesses so done a more gracious gratitude is felt. For that a man in all other respects neglectful should not have neglected to do a kindness in season is from its unexpectedness grateful.

3. Now the famous golden age celebrated by the poets, if you think over it, you will find to have been the age of negligence, when the earth neglected bore rich crops and, without trouble taken, provided all the requisites of life to those who neglected it. These arguments shew that negligence comes of good lineage, is pleasing to the gods, commended by the wise, has her share of virtues, is the teacher of mildness, shielded from traps, welcomed in well-doing, pardoned in faults, and, finally, pronounced golden. Who pray prevents us from painting-in much colour from the paint-box of our friend Favorinus⁴⁵ ? The more a woman relies on her looks, the more easily does she neglect her complexion and her coiffure; but with most women it is because they distrust their beauty that all the alluring devices which care can discover are brought into being that they may particularly adorn themselves.

4. The myrtle and the box and all the other shrubs and bushes that submit to the shears, accustomed as they are to being most diligently and carefully pruned, watered, and trimmed, creep on the ground, or raise their tops but little over the soil where they stand; but those unshorn firs and neglected pines hide their aspiring heads amid the clouds.

5. Lions are not so diligent in seeking their food and procuring their prey as ants, while spiders are more diligent in weaving than any Penelope or Andromache. And altogether insignificant abilities
. How small a part, I ask you, of the Lucullan .
.

? 140–143 A.D.

Hail, my best of masters.

1. I knew that on everyone's birthday his friends undertake vows for him whose birthday it is. I, however, since I love you as myself, wish to offer up on this day, which is your birthday, hearty prayers for myself. I call, therefore, with my vows to hear me each one of all the Gods, who anywhere in the world provide present and prompt help for men; who anywhere give their aid and shew their power in dreams or mysteries, or healing, or oracles; and I place myself according to the nature of each vow in that spot where the god who is invested with that power may the more readily hear.

2. Therefore I now first climb the citadel of the God of Pergamum and beseech Aesculapius⁴⁶ to bless my master's health and mightily protect it. Thence I pass on to Athens and, clasping Minerva by her knees, I entreat and pray that, if ever I know aught of letters, this knowledge may find its way into my breast from the lips of none other than Fronto.⁴⁷ Now I return to Rome and implore with vows the gods that guard the roads and patrol the seas that in every journey of mine you may be with me, and I be not worn out with so constant, so consuming a desire for you. Lastly, I ask all the tutelary deities of all the nations, and the very grove, whose rustling fills the Capitoline Hill, to grant us this, that I may keep with you this day, on which you were born for me, with you in good health and spirits. Farewell, my sweetest and dearest of masters. I beseech you, take care of yourself, that when I come I may see you. My Lady greets you.

Fronto to Marcus Aurelius as Caesar

? 140–143 A.D.

To my Lord.

All is well with us since your wishes are for us, for there is no one who deserves more than you to win from the Gods fulfilment of his prayers, unless I should rather say that, when I pray for you, there is no one who deserves more than you the fulfilment of prayers offered on your behalf. Farewell, most

sweet Lord. Greet my Lady.

? 140–143 A.D.

Fronto to his own Caesar.

. . . . unless speech is graced by dignity of language, it becomes downright impudent and indecent. In fine you too, when you have had to speak in the Senate or harangue the people, have never used a far-fetched word,⁴⁸ never an unintelligible or unusual figure, as knowing that a Caesar's eloquence should be like the clarion not like the clarionet, in which there is less resonance and more difficulty.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

? 140–143 A.D.

Hail, my best of masters.⁴⁹

What, am I to study while you are in pain, above all in pain on my account? Shall I not of my own accord punish myself with every kind of penance? It were only right, by Hercules. For who else brought on that pain in the knee, which you write was worse last night, who else if not Centumcellae,⁵⁰ not to mention myself? What then shall I do, who cannot see you and am racked with such anxiety? Besides, however much I might be minded to study, the courts forbid it, which, as those say who know, will take up whole days. Still I send you to-day's maxim and the day-before-yesterday's commonplace. The whole day yesterday we spent on the road. To-day it is hard to find time for anything but the evening maxim. *Do you sleep, say you, the livelong night?* Aye, I can sleep, for I am a great sleeper; but it is so cold in my room that I can scarcely put my hand outside the bed-clothes.⁵¹ But in good sooth what most of all put my mind off study was the thought that by my undue fondness for literature⁵² I did you an ill turn at the Harbour,⁵³ as the event shewed. And so farewell to all Catos and Ciceros and Sallusts, as long as you fare well and I see you, though with never a book, established in health. Farewell, my chief joy, sweetest of masters. My Lady greets you. Send me three maxims and commonplaces.

? 140–143 A.D.

1. Arion of Lesbos, according to Greek tradition foremost as player on the lyre and as dithyrambist. setting out from Corinth, where he constantly sojourned, in pursuit of gain, after amassing great riches in the coast-towns of Sicily and Italy, prepared to make his way home from Tarentum to Corinth. For his ship's crew he chose Corinthians by preference, and boldly freighted their ship with his immense gains. When the ship was well out at sea he realized that the crew, coveting the wealth which they carried, were plotting his death. He wearied them with prayers to take all his gold for themselves, but leave him his life alone. When that boon was denied him, he was yet granted another grace, in taking farewell of life to sing as much as he would. The pirates put it down as so much to the good that over and above their booty they should hear a consummate artist sing, to whose voice moreover no one should ever thereafter listen. He donned his robe embroidered with gold, and withal his famous lyre. Then he took his stand before the prow in the most open and elevated place, the crew being afterwards intentionally scattered over the rest of the ship. There Arion, exerting all his powers, began to sing, for sea and sky, look you, the last reminder of his skill. His song ended, with a word on his lips he sprang into the sea: a dolphin received him, carried him on his back, outstripped the ship, landed him at Taenarus as near the shore as a dolphin might.

2. Thence Arion made his way to Corinth, man and robe and lyre and voice all safe; presented himself before Periander, the king of Corinth, who had long known him and esteemed him for his skill; recounted in order what had happened on the ship and subsequently in the sea. The king believed the man but did not know what to think of the miracle, and waited for the return of ship and crew. When he learnt that they had put into harbour, he gave orders for their being summoned without any excitement; questioned them with a pleasant countenance and gentle words as to whether they had any news of Arion the Lesbian. They answered glibly that they had seen that most fortunate of men at Tarentum making golden profits and applauded by all, his

profession being to sing to the lyre; and that his stay was prolonged by reason of his popularity,⁵⁵ his profits, and his praises. As they were saying this, Arion sprang in safe and sound, just as he had stood on the ship's stern with his gold-embroidered robe and his famous lyre. The pirates were dumbfounded at the unexpected sight, nor did they thereafter attempt any denial or disbelief or exculpation. The dolphin's exploit is recorded by a statue set up at Taenarus of a man seated on a dolphin, small in size and executed as a subject-piece rather than as a likeness.

? 140–143 A.D.

Aurelius Caesar to his own Fronto greeting.⁵⁶

It is a fact that you have often said to me, *What can I do to give you the greatest pleasure?* Now is the opportunity. If my love for you admits of any increase, you can increase it now. The trial approaches in which men, it seems, will not only give a generous ear to your eloquence, but turn a grudging eye upon your angry animosity. And I see no one else who can venture to advise you in this matter. For those who are less friendly to you prefer to see you acting inconsistently, while those who are truer friends are afraid of seeming too friendly to your opponent if they divert you from accusing him as you are entitled to do. Then again, if you have conned some especially choice phrase for the occasion, they cannot bear to rob you of its due delivery by an enforced silence. And so, even if you think me an ill-advised counsellor or a forward boy, or too partial to your opponent, I will not, for all that, shew any the more hesitation in pressing upon you what I think the best counsel. But why have I said *counsel*, whereas it is a favour I claim, urgently claim, from you and, if it is granted, promise to be bound to you in return? But you will say, *What! if assailed, shall I not requite in like terms?* Nay, you will win by this means greater glory for yourself if, even when assailed, you make no reply.⁵⁷ Still, if he is the first to attack, it will be excusable in you to answer as you can; however, I have begged of him not to begin, and I think I have got my way. For I love both of you, each one for his own merits, and I do not forget that he was brought up in the house of my grandfather,⁵⁸ P. Calvisius, and I educated under you. Wherefore I am most anxious that this very disagreeable business should be handled as honourably

as possible. I trust my advice will commend itself to you, for my goodwill you must commend. At any rate, I would rather fail in judgment by writing than fail in friendship by keeping silence. Farewell, my Fronto, most beloved and most loving of friends.

? 140–143 A.D.

Fronto to my Lord Caesar.

Rightly have I devoted myself to you, rightly invested in you and your father all the gains of my life. What could be more friendly, what more delightful, what more true⁵⁹ ? But I beseech you, away with your *forward boys and rash counsellors*! There is danger, forsooth, of anything you suggest being childishly conceived or ill-advised! Believe me, if you will — if not, I will for my part believe myself — that in good sense you leave your elders far behind. In fact, in this affair, I realise that your counsel is weighty and worthy of a greybeard, while mine is childish. For what is the good of providing a spectacle for friends and foes? If your Herodes be an honourable and moral man, it is not right that such a man⁶⁰ should be assailed⁶¹ with invectives by me; if he is wicked and worthless, my fight with him is not on equal terms, nor do we stand to lose the same. For any contact with what is unclean contaminates a man, even though you come off best. But the former supposition is the truer, that he, whom you count worthy of your patronage, is a virtuous man. Had I had an inkling of the fact, may all the gods plague me if I should ever have ventured to say a word against any friend of yours.⁶² As it is I should wish you for the great love you bear me, wherein I am most blest, to help me with your advice on this point also. I quite admit that I ought not to say anything, which does not bear on the case, to damage Herodes, but those facts which do bear on it — and they are undoubtedly of a most savage character — how am I to deal with them? that is the very thing I am in doubt about, and I ask your advice. I shall have to tell of freemen cruelly beaten and robbed, of one even slain; I shall have to tell of a son unfilial⁶³ and deaf to his father's prayers, cruelty and avarice will have to be denounced; there is one who must in this trial be made out a murderer. But if on those counts, on which the indictment is based, you think I ought to press and assail my opponent with might and main, assure me, best of Lords and sweetest to me,

that such is your opinion. If, however, you think that I ought to let him off lightly in these also, I shall consider what you advise to be the best course. You may, indeed, as I said, rest assured of this, that I shall not go outside the case itself to speak of his character and the rest of his life. But if you think I must do the best for my case, I warn you herewith that I shall not even use in a disproportionate manner the opportunity my case gives me, for savage charges are made and must be savagely spoken of. Those in particular which concern the robbing and injuring of freemen shall be so told by me as to smack of gall and spleen: if I chance to call him a greekling and unlearned, it need not mean war to the knife.⁶⁴

Farewell, Caesar, and love me, as you do, to the utmost. I, indeed, dote on the very characters of your writing: wherefore, whenever you write to me, I would have you write with your own hand.

Fronto to Marcus Aurelius as Caesar

? 140–143 A.D.

Hail, my Lord.

After I had already closed and sealed the preceding letter, it occurred to me that those who plead in this case — and many seem likely to plead in it — may speak of Herodes in less measured terms. Take care how you think that I alone am concerned in this affair. Farewell, my Lord, and live, that I may be happy. Capreolus, who is now away, and our friend Marcianus⁶⁵ seem likely to plead; Villianus too, it seems.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

? 140–143 A.D.

Hail, my dearest Fronto.

I must acknowledge and tender you at once, my dearest Fronto, my thanks, that, so far from rejecting my advice, you have approved it. As to the points on which you consult me in your very friendly letter, my opinion is this. Whatever has relation to the case, which you safeguard, should obviously be

put forward; whatever to your own private feelings, although legitimate and provoked by the facts, must, nevertheless, be left unsaid. So will you not wound your honour in an all-night business, nor your own standard of self respect. (Let the others conduct the case as they will) and say what they please, since the one thing that greatly concerns me is, that you should say nothing that shall seem unworthy of your character, useless to your case, and to your audience deserving of blame. Farewell, my dearest, and to me most delightful Fronto.

Fronto to Marcus Aurelius as Caesar

? 140–143 A.D.

To my Lord.

I will act, my Lord, as to these counts and as to my whole life in the way I see you wish me to act; and I pray and beseech you never to forbear mentioning what you wish done by me, but dissuade me, as you are now rightly doing, if I ever undertake any such thing against your wishes. I should prefer (all the counts in the) case to be taken separately, that we may apply the method of Cicero. For when they compress that decision into so little, I desire but a fight could never be conducted in this way. But if we proceed with unbroken speeches, though I go no step outside the case, my glance must needs be somewhat keen, and my voice vehement, and my words stern, and I must shew anger with a gesture here and a finger there; and this your man⁶⁶ ought to bear with composure. But it is no easy matter to get that concession from him, for he is said to be inflamed with a passion for pleading. Nor yet do I find fault with even this; but take heed that he seem not to you to put forward what actually belongs to his case too bitterly. But it is your own plea that honour should be the first consideration: and if one practises arms or wrestling, not even these mimic exercises can be carried through without strife I have praised more happily your “country bumpkin.”⁶⁷

Fronto to Marcus Aurelius as Caesar

Fronto to my Lord.

Since I know how anxious you are . . . sheep and doves with wolves and eagles followed the singer, regardless of ambushes and talons and teeth. This legend rightly interpreted surely signifies this, that Orpheus⁶⁸ was a man of matchless genius and surpassing eloquence, who attached to himself numerous followers, from admiration of his virtues and his power of speech, and that he so trained his friends and followers, that, though met together from different nations and endowed with diverse characteristics, they, nevertheless, lived sociably together in unity and concord, the gentle with the fierce, the quiet with the violent, the meek with the proud, the sensitive with the cruel. Then all of them gradually put off their ingrained faults, went after virtue and learned righteousness, exchanged shamelessness for a sense of shame, self-will for deference, ill-feeling for kindness. But if ever anyone by his character had so much influence as to unite his friends and followers in mutual love for one another, you assuredly will accomplish this with far greater ease, for you were formed by nature before you were fitted by training for the exercise of all virtues.⁶⁹ For before you were old enough to be trained, you were already perfect and complete in all noble accomplishments, before adolescence a good man, before manhood⁷⁰ a practised speaker. But of all your virtues this even more than the others is worthy of admiration, that you unite all your friends in harmony. And I cannot conceal my opinion that this is a far harder task than to charm with the lyre the fierceness of lions and wild beasts: and you will achieve this the more easily, if you set yourself to uproot and utterly to stamp out this one vice of mutual envy and jealousy among your friends, that they may not, when you have shewn attention or done a favour to another, think that this is so much taken from or lost to themselves. Envy among men is a deadly evil and more fatal than any, a curse to enviers and envied alike. Banish it from your circle of friends, and you will keep them, as they now are, harmonious and kindly; but let it in any way spread among them, and it can only be stamped out with immense toil and immense trouble.

But prithee let us talk of better things. I love Julianus — for this discussion originated with him — ; I love all who are fond of you; I love the gods who watch over you; I love life for your sake; with you I love letters; like all your friends I take deep draughts of love for you.

? 140–143 A.D.

Hail, my dearest or masters.

1. Although I am coming to you to-morrow, yet I cannot refrain, my dearest Fronto, from writing some answer, however trifling, to a letter so friendly, so delightful, so felicitous as yours. But what am I to love first? feel grateful first for what? Shall I not mention this first, that, occupied though you are with such important pursuits at home and business no less important outside, you nevertheless made a point of going to see our friend Julianus⁷¹ chiefly — for I were ungrateful if I did not realize this — on my account. *But*, you will say, *there is not much in that*. Yet it does amount to much, if you count in all the rest, your staying there so long, having so protracted a talk, a talk, too, about me, or something to cheer him up in his illness, your making a sick man more comfortable in himself, a friend more friendly to me; then again, your writing out for me a detailed account of all this, giving in your letter most welcome news of Julianus himself, the kindest of words, the most wholesome of counsels! Why should I try to dissemble before you what, do what I will, I can never dissemble? At any rate, the very fact of your writing me so long a letter, when I was to come to you to-morrow — that, I confess, was to me the most gratifying thing of all; in that did I think myself above all men most blest, for by it you have shewn me in the most marked and the sweetest way how much you make of me, and how great is the confidence you have in my friendship. What shall I say more except *I love you deservedly*? But why do I say *deservedly*? Would that I could love you as you deserve! Aye, and that is why I am often full of wrath and indignation against you when away, because you make it impossible for me to love you as I wish, that is, for my soul to follow your love up to its supreme height.

2. With respect to Herodes proceed with what you say, I beseech you: as our Quintus⁷² has it, *prevail with persevering persistence*. Herodes loves you, and I am doing my best in that quarter, and assuredly he who does not love you neither sees with his eyes nor understands with his heart: of ears I say nothing, for the ears of all hearers have passed under the yoke and are slaves

of your voice. To me this day seems, and will seem, longer than a spring day, and the coming night more tedious than a night in winter. For as I desire intensely to greet my Fronto, so I long above all to embrace the writer of this last letter.

3. I have written this to you hurriedly because Maecianus⁷³ was pressing, and it was right that your brother should return to you in good time. I beseech you, therefore, if you find any solecism or confusion of thought or shaky letter herein, put it down to haste. For though I am desperately fond of you as a friend, at the same time I must not forget that I ought to shew no less respect to my master than love to my friend. Farewell, my Fronto, dearest and beyond all things sweetest to me.

4. The *Sota*⁷⁴ of Ennius, which you have returned, seems to be on clearer paper, in a more handsome volume and a prettier hand than before. Let Gracchus⁷⁵ bide with the cask of new wine until we come. There is no risk of Gracchus fermenting out⁷⁶ meanwhile along with the wine. Fare ever well, my sweetest soul.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

? 140–143 A.D.

His own Caesar to his master.

I need not say how pleased I was at reading those speeches of Gracchus, for you will know well enough, since it was you who, with your experienced judgment and kind thoughtfulness, recommended them for my reading. That your book might not be returned to you alone and unaccompanied, I have added this letter. Farewell, my sweetest of masters and friendliest of friends, to whom I am likely to be indebted for all the literature I shall ever know. I am not so ungrateful as not to recognize what a favour you have done me by letting me see your extracts,⁷⁷ and by ceasing not to lead me daily in the right way and, as the saying goes, “to open my eyes.” Deservedly do I love you.

143 A.D.

Fronto to his own Caesar.

. . . . I will send you, therefore, as far as I can, this book copied out. Farewell, Caesar, and smile and be happy all your life long and enjoy the best of parents and your own excellent abilities.

Baiae, 143 A.D.

Marcus Caesar Imperator⁷⁸ to my master Fronto.

1. What shall I say, that is adequate, as to my ill-fortune, or how inveigh as it deserves against this most hard necessity which keeps me a prisoner here with a heart so anxious and fettered with such great apprehension and does not let me run at once to my Fronto, to my most beautiful of souls, above all to be with him at a time when he is so unwell, to clasp his hands and in fine, as far as may be without pain, to massage the poor foot itself, foment it in the bath, and support him as he steps in? And do you call me a friend, who do not throw aside all hindrances and fly in hot haste to you? I, indeed, am more lame than you with that diffidence or, rather, laziness of mine. Oh, as to myself — what shall I say? I am afraid of saying something you would not like to hear, for you indeed have always striven in every way, with your humorous sallies and your wittiest of words, to divert my mind, and to shew me that you can put up with all your ills with unruffled fortitude. But where my fortitude has gone to I know not, if it be not yonder in some mysterious way to you. For mercy's sake endeavour with all self-denial and all abstinence to shake off this attack which you, indeed, can endure with your usual courage, but to me it is the worst and sorest of trials.

2. Write and tell me quickly, I beseech you, to what waters you are going and when, and how well you now are, and set my mind going in my breast again. Meanwhile I will carry about your letter in spite of its sad tenor. Farewell, my most delightful Fronto: and yet I ought to put it more correctly thus — for to fare well is, of course, always your wish — : O ye kind Gods, that are everywhere, grant, I beseech you, health to my Fronto, dearest to me and most delightful: let him ever be well with a hardy, hale, healthy body: let him be well and able to be with me. Most charming of men, farewell.

143 A.D.

Fronto to his own Caesar.

1. So without end, Caesar, is your love for this Fronto of yours, that for all your eloquence words are scarcely forthcoming fully to express your love and set forth your goodwill. What, I ask you, can be more fortunate, what more happy than I alone am, to whom you send such glowing letters? Nay, more, and this is peculiar to lovers, you wish to run, aye, to fly, to me.

2. My Lady, your mother, is wont at times to say in fun that she envies me for being loved so much by you. What if she read this letter of yours, in which you even beseech the gods and invoke them with vows for my health? O, happy that I am! commended by your lips to the gods! Can any pain, think you, find its way into body or mind of mine to count against delight so great? . . . hurrah! No longer do I feel any pain, nor any distress: I am whole, I am well, I leap for joy; whither you wish, I will come; whither you wish, I will run. Believe me when I say that I was so steeped in delight as not to be able to answer your letter at once; but the letter, indeed, which I had already written in answer to your previous one, I have sent off to you. However, I have kept back the second messenger that I might recover from my joy. And lo, the night has passed, a second day is already here which is already almost spent, and still what and how to write back to you I find not. For what professions of mine could be more sweetly, what more winningly, what more lovingly expressed than yours for me? And so I rejoice that you make me ungrateful and put a due requital beyond my powers, since, as the matter stands, your affection for me is so great that I can scarcely exceed your love.

3. Therefore, to provide some matter for a longer letter, let me ask you for what desert of mine you love me so. What benefit has your Fronto bestowed upon you so great that you should shew him such affection? Has he given up his life for you and your parents? Has he braved perils vicariously in your stead? Has he been the faithful governor of some province? Has he commanded an army? Nothing of the kind. Not even those everyday duties about your person does he discharge more than others; nay, he is, if you wish the truth, remiss enough. For neither does he haunt your house at daybreak, nor pay his respects to you daily, nor attend you everywhere, nor keep you always in sight. See to it then that, if anyone ask you why you love Fronto, you have an easy answer ready.

4. And yet there is nothing I like better than that there should be no reason

for your love of me. For that seems to me no love at all which springs from reason and depends on actual and definite causes: by love I understand such as is fortuitous and free and subject to no cause, conceived by impulse rather than by reason, that needs no services, as a fire logs, for its kindling, but glows with self-engendered heat. To me the steaming grottoes of Baiae are better than your bath-furnaces, in which the fire is kindled with cost and smoke, and anon goes out. But the natural heat of the former is at once pure and perpetual, as grateful as it is gratuitous. Just in the same way your rational friendship, kept alight with services, not unfrequently means smoke and watery eyes: relax your efforts for an instant and out they go: but love fortuitous is eternal and enchanting.

5. Again, friendship that is won by desert has no such growth or firm texture as the love that is sudden and at first sight. So in orchards and gardens the growth of shrubs, reared and watered by hand, is not like that of the oak and the fir and the alder⁷⁹ and the cedar and the pine on their native hills which, springing up self-sown and set without plan and without order, owe nothing to the toil or services of a planter, but are fostered by the wind and the rain.

6. That love of yours, therefore, unplanted and sprung up without reason, will, I trust, grow steadily on with the cedars and the oaks; whereas if it were cherished by reason of services done, it would not outgrow the myrtles and the bays, which have scent enough but too little strength. In a word, love spontaneous is as superior to love earned by service as fortune is to reason.

7. But who is there knows not that reason is a term for human judgment, while Fortuna is a goddess and the chief of goddesses? that temples, fanes, and shrines have been dedicated to Fortuna⁸⁰ all the world over, while to Reason has been consecrated neither image nor altar anywhere? I cannot be wrong then in preferring that your love for me should be born rather of fortune than of reason.

8. Indeed reason can never compare with fortune either in grandeur or utility or worth. For neither can you match your pyramids, raised by hand and reason, against the hills, nor your aqueducts against the rivers, nor your cisterns against the fountains. Again, reason that guides our actions is called wisdom, the intuition of the seer is named divination. Nor is there anyone who would rather put faith in the wisest of women than in the oracles of the Sibyl.

What is the drift of all this? To shew that I do right in preferring to be loved by intuition and chance rather than by reason and my desert. Wherefore, even if there is any adequate reason for your love for me, I beseech you, Caesar, let us take diligent pains to conceal and ignore it. Let men doubt, discuss, dispute, guess, puzzle over the origin of our love as over the fountains of the Nile.

9. It is now close on four o'clock and your messenger is muttering. So my letter must end. I am really much better than I expected; I have given up all idea of waters. Dearly do I love you, my Lord, the glory of our age, my chiefest solace. You will say, *Not surely more than I love you?* I am not so ungrateful as to dare say that. Farewell, Caesar, and your parents too, and cultivate your abilities to the full.

Baiae, 143 A.D.

M. Caesar to his master Fronto, greeting.

1. Hear now a very few points in favour of wakefulness against sleep⁸¹ : and yet methinks I am guilty of collusion, in that I side with sleep night and day without ceasing: I desert him not, nor is he likely to desert me, such cronies are we. But my hope is that he may be huffed at my indictment of him and leave me for a little space, and give me a chance at last of burning some midnight oil. Now for subtle arguments: of which⁸² my first, indeed, shall be this, in regard to which, if you say that I have taken up an easier theme in accusing sleep than you who have praised it — for who, say you, cannot easily bring an indictment against sleep? — I will counter thus: what is easy to indict is hard to praise; what is hard to praise can serve no useful purpose.

2. But I let that pass. For the nonce, as we are staying at Baiae in this interminable labyrinth⁸³ of Ulysses, I will take from Ulysses a few things which bear on my subject. For he surely would not have taken *twenty years his fatherland to reach*,⁸⁴ nor have wandered so long about that pool, nor gone through all the other adventures which make up the Odyssey, had not then *sweet sleep seized his weary limbs*.⁸⁵ Yet *on the tenth day his native soil appeared*⁸⁶ — but what did sleep do?

The evil counsel of my crew prevailed:

*The bag they opened, and forth rushed the winds;
The fierce gale caught and swept them to the sea,
Weeping with sorrow, from their native shore?*⁸⁷

What again took place at the island of Trinacria?⁸⁸

*Nor winds sweet sleep upon mine eyelids shed:
Eurylochus his crew ill counsel gave.*⁸⁹

Afterwards, when the *Sungod's oxen and fat flocks . . . they slew and flayed .
. and burnt the thighs and ate the flesh,*⁹⁰ what then Ulysses when awaked?

*Wailing I cried to all the Gods on high,
Who ruthless to my ruin made me sleep.*⁹¹

Sleep, however, did not allow Ulysses a long recognition of his native land, from which he *yearned to see even the smoke leap upwards.*⁹²

3. Now I leave the son of Laertes for the son of Atreus. For that *with all haste*, which beguiled the latter, and led to the defeat and rout of so many legions, surely sprang from sleep and a dream.

Again, when the poet would praise Agamemnon, what says he? —

*Then none might see the godlike Agamemnon sleeping —*⁹³

what, when he is finding fault? —

*No councillor should sleep the whole night long,*⁹⁴

verses indeed, which an illustrious orator⁹⁵ once wrested in a strange fashion.

4. I now pass on to our friend Q. Ennius, who, you say, drew from sleep and a dream⁹⁶ his first inspiration to write. But, marry, had he never waked from sleep, he had never told his dream.

5. From him let us to Hesiod the shepherd, who became a poet, you say, in slumber. But, indeed, I remember reading once upon a time at school:

*When on the swift steed's track he was leading his sheep to the pasture,
Hesiod once was met in the way by a bevy of Muses.*⁹⁷

That *was met*, you see what it implies? Why, that he was walking when the Muses met him.

What, again, do you think of that, of which its most eloquent advocate says

what?

*Sweet dreamless sleep, death's counterfeit.*⁹⁸

6. Enough of this trifling which I have indulged in more from love of you than from my own faith in it. Now after soundly abusing sleep, I am off to sleep: for I have spun all this out for you in the evening. I hope sleep will not pay me out.

143 A.D.

Fronto to his Lord Marcus Caesar.

1. On my return home I received your letter which you had, of course, written to me at Rome, and to Rome it had gone; then it was brought back to-day and delivered to me a little while ago. In it, with many happy arguments, you confute the little I had said for sleep so cleverly, so subtly and aptly, that if wakefulness brings you such sharpness and wit,⁹⁹ I would absolutely prefer you to keep awake. But, indeed, you confess that you wrote in the evening just before going to sleep. It was the near approach, therefore, and overshadowing of sleep that produced so felicitous a letter. For, like the saffron, sleep, ere it comes close, sheds its fragrance from afar and delights at a distance.

2. To begin, then, with the opening of your letter, *collusion* with sleep, as you term it, is most happy . . . the word¹⁰⁰ is so apt that, were it withdrawn, nothing of equal value and force could be put in its place. That, again, is a happy expression . . . or that turn of yours beside the mark where you say *nor all the other things which make up the Odyssey*.

3. Indeed all that Latin context is interwoven by you and alternates as skilfully with the Greek verses as the movements of the gaily-drest performers in the Pyrrhic reel when they run together, coalescing now with these, now with those, dressed some in scarlet, others in damask,¹⁰¹ and crimson, and purple.

4. Again, your transition from Laertius to Atrides was neatly done. But come, that was a nasty return you gave Q. Ennius when you said that, *had he not awaked from sleep he could not have recounted his dream*. See if my Marcus Caesar can evolve anything more dexterous than that. No sleight of word So clever, no *snare*, as Laevius says, *so cunningly set*. What if I beseech

you never to wake up? Nay, I beseech you to sleep. Another jester's¹⁰² proverb: *Marry, one with whom you can play odd and even in the dark!* But am I not blest in seeing and realizing this, and above all in being called by the title master? How I master? who cannot get my way in this one thing I would have you learn — to sleep. Go your own way, provided that, whether you wake early or sleep long, the Gods keep you for me. Farewell, my joy, farewell.

M. Aurelius as Caesar to Fronto

143 A.D.

To my master.

Cicero's letter interested me wonderfully. Brutus had sent his book¹⁰³ to Cicero for corrections

Fronto to M. Aurelius as Caesar

143 A.D.

To my Lord.

1. . . . be softened and so more effectually without any friction enter into the minds of hearers. And these are actually the things which *you* think *crooked* and *insincere* and *laboured*¹⁰⁴ and *by no means reconcilable with true friendship!* But *I* think all speech without these conventions rude and rustic and incongruous, in a word, inartistic and inept.¹⁰⁵ Nor, in my opinion, can philosophers dispense with such artifices any more than orators. In support of my contention I will adduce not “family” evidence, as the phrase is, from oratory, but I will call upon the most outstanding philosophers, the most ancient and excellent poets, in fact, the everyday practice and usage of life and the experience of all the arts.

2. What, then, have you to say about that master of eloquence no less than of wisdom, Socrates? — for him, first and foremost, I have subpoenaed as witness before you — did he cultivate a style of speech in which there was nothing crooked, nothing at times dissembled? By what methods was he wont

to disconcert and entrap Protagoras and Polus and Thrasymachus and the other Sophists? When did he meet them without masking his batteries? When not attack them from an ambush? From whom, if not from him, can we say that the inverted¹⁰⁶ form of speech, which the Greeks call εἰρωνεία, took its rise? In what fashion, again, used he to accost and address Alcibiades and the other young men who prided themselves on birth or beauty or riches? In terms of censure or in terms of suavity?¹⁰⁷ With bitter reproof when they went wrong, or with gentle persuasion? And yet Socrates assuredly had as much seriousness or force as the cynic Diogenes shewed in his habitual brutality. But he saw, in fact, that the dispositions of men in a measure, and of young men in particular, are more easily won over by courteous and sympathetic than by bitter and unrestrained language. And so he did not attack the errors of youths with mantlets and battering rams, but sapped them with mines, and his hearers never parted from him torn, though sometimes teased. For the race of mankind is by nature stiff-necked against the high-handed, but responds readily to coaxing. Therefore we give way more willingly to entreaties than are frightened into submission by violence, and advice rather than denunciation leads us to improve. So we listen to admonition courteously conveyed, but severity of correction makes us contumacious.¹⁰⁸

Fronto to Marcus Aurelius as Caesar

143 A.D.

To my Lord.

1. As for your thinking that I slept soundly, I lay awake nearly all night considering with myself whether, maybe from too great partiality for you, I did not think too lightly and indulgently of some shortcoming of yours; whether you should not by now be more trained, more advanced in eloquence, were not your abilities hampered either by sloth or carelessness. Turning these things over anxiously in my mind, I found that you had made much greater progress in eloquence than could be expected from your age, youthful as it is; much greater than the time that you have devoted to these studies would warrant, much greater than the hopes, and those no mean ones, which I had formed of you. But as it came to me only in the dead of night, what a subject

you are writing on! actually one of the epideictic kind,¹⁰⁹ the most difficult of all. Why? Because of all the three generally received kinds of subject, the epideictic, the deliberative, the forensic, the first is set on a steep hill, the others are much less of a climb, being in many respects on sloping or level ground. In short, while there are similarly three types, as it were, of oratory, the plain, the medium, the luxuriant, in epideictic speeches there is practically no place for the plain style, which in forensic ones is quite essential. In the epideictic speech everything must be said in luxuriant style, everywhere there must be ornament, everywhere trappings must be used. The medium style admits but sparingly of these.

2. But you remember the numbers of books, of which you have up to the present made the acquaintance, comedies, farces, old-time orators, few of whom, perhaps none save Cato and Gracchus, blow a trumpet, but all bellow or, rather, shriek. What, then, has Ennius done for you now you have read him? What help have tragedies been to you in composing verse in the grand style? For generally it is verse that gives the best assistance to composing speeches and speeches to writing verse. You have but lately begun to read florid and showy¹¹⁰ speeches. Do not expect to be able to imitate them all at once. But, as I said, let us bend to the oars, let us make a great effort. Quickly shall I set you upon the very pinnacle of eloquence: I will be your surety for it, your bondsman, your bail. The gods will assist in it, the gods will accomplish it. Farewell, my Lord, be sanguine and stout-hearted and trust to time and practice. Greet your Lady mother.

When you spoke of¹¹¹ the Persian training, *battunt* was a happy word of yours.

M. Aurelius to Fronto

143 A.D.

Hail, my deservedly dear Fronto. I see through that most subtle ruse of yours, which you indeed hit upon in pure kindness of heart. For not being able to win credit for your praise of me by reason of your signal partiality in my case you sought to make it credible by throwing in some abuse.¹¹² But happy am I that I am thought worthy of blame no less than of praise by my Marcus

Cornelius, greatest of orators and best of men! What shall I say of your letter so kind, so true, so loving? — true, that is, as far as the first part of its contents goes, but for the rest, where you express approval of me, as some Greek, Theophrastus I think, says, *the lover is blind to the faults of his loved one*, so have you been almost blinded by love in your judgment of some of my work. But so greatly do I value the fact that, though I do not write well, I should yet be praised by you for no desert of mine, but only because of your love for me, of which you have lately sent me such numerous and such happily-worded assurances that, since you wish it, I *will* be something. At all events, your letter had the effect of making me feel how much you loved me. But as to my despondency, nevertheless, I am still nervous in mind and a little depressed, lest I shall have said something in the Senate to-day, such that I should not deserve to have you as my master. Farewell, my Fronto, my — what shall I say but — best of friends.

Fronto to Marcus Aurelius as Caesar

July, 143 A.D.

To my Lord.

1. In your last letter you ask me why I have not delivered my speech in the Senate. Well, I have to return thanks to my Lord your Father by proclamation also, and that I shall issue at my Games in the Circus; it will begin with these very words: *On the day on which, by the kindness of our great Emperor, I am exhibiting a spectacle most attractive to the people and popidar in the highest degree, I have thought it a good opportunity to return thanks to him, that the same day* — to be followed by some Ciceronian conclusion. My speech I shall deliver on August 13th. You will ask, perhaps, *Why so late?* Because I am never in a hurry to discharge a solemn duty at the first possible moment, and anyhow. But, as I ought to deal with you without disguise and without circumlocution, I will tell you what is in my mind. I often praised your grandfather, the deified Hadrian, in the Senate, with a steady zeal, aye, and a ready, and those speeches are constantly in everyone's hands. Yet, if your filial feeling towards him will allow me to say so, I wished to appease and propitiate Hadrian, as I might Mars Gradivus or Father Dis, rather than loved

him. Why? Because love requires some confidence and intimacy. Since, in my case, confidence was lacking, therefore I dare not love one whom I so greatly revered. Antoninus, however, I love, I cherish like the light, like day, like life, like breath, and feel that I am loved by him. Him I must so praise that my praise be not hidden away in the *Journals of the Senate*,¹¹³ but come into the hands and under the eyes of men, else am I ungrateful also towards you. Again, as the runaway syce is reported to have said, *I have run sixty miles for my master; I will run a hundred for myself, to escape*; so I, too, when I praised Hadrian, ran for my master, but today I run for myself; for myself, I say, and write this speech to please myself. I shall compose it, therefore, at my ease, slowly, leisurely, placidly.

2. If you are very impatient for it, amuse yourself the while in other ways; kiss your father, embrace him, lastly, praise him yourself. But you may certainly look forward to hearing on August 13th what you would wish and such as you would wish. Farewell, Caesar, and prove worthy of your father, and if you wish to write anything, write slowly.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

143 A.D.

My most honourable consul, Fronto.

1. I give in, you have won: beyond question you have conquered in loving all lovers that have ever lived. Take the wreath and let the herald, too, proclaim in the ears of all before your tribunal this your victory — *M. Cornelius Fronto, consul, is the winner. He is crowned in the contest of the Great Friendship-Games*. Yet, though vanquished, will I not falter or fail in my devotion. Therefore shall you indeed, my master, love me more than any of men loves any man, while I, who have less energy in loving, will love you more than anyone else loves you, more, in fact, than you love yourself. I see I shall have a competitor in Gratia,¹¹⁴ and I fear that I may not be able to surpass her. For, as Plautus says, in her case, “not only has the rain of love drenched her dress with its thunder-drops, but soaked into her very marrow.”¹¹⁵

2. If you only knew what a letter you have written me!¹¹⁶ I could venture to

say that she who bore me and nursed me, even she never wrote me anything so delightful, so honeyed. Nor is this due to your word-mastery or eloquence, for apply that test and not my mother only but all that breathe would, as they do, yield the palm at once to you. But I cannot express in words how that letter of yours to me, not for its eloquence or learning, but bubbling up as it does with so much kindness, brimful of such affection, sparkling with so much love, has lifted my heart up to the heavens, inspired it with the most glowing fondness, in a word, as Naevius says, filled it *with a love transcendent*.

3. That other letter of yours, in which you pointed out why you were going to put off the delivery of the speech in the Senate in which you intend to eulogize my Lord, delighted me so much that — forgive me if I was too hasty — I could not refrain from reading it aloud to my father himself. I need not dwell on the pleasure it gave him, for you know his entire good-will towards you and the matchless felicity of your letter. But from this occasion arose a long talk between us about you, much, much longer than yours and your quaestor's¹¹⁷ about me. So your ears too must have been tingling about that time in the forum. My Lord, then, quite approves and sympathizes with your reasons for putting off the delivery of your speech till later

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

143 A.D.

To my master.

From half-past ten till now I have been writing and have also read a good deal of Cato, and I am writing this to you with the same pen, and I greet you and ask you how well you are. Oh, how long it is since I saw you!

August, 143 A.D.

M. Caesar to the most honourable consul his master.

. . . . Three days ago we heard Polemo declaim — that we may have some talk about men also. If you would like to know what I think of him, listen. He seems to me like a hard-working farmer endowed with the utmost shrewdness,

who has laid out a large holding with corn-crops only and vines, wherein beyond question the yield is the fairest and the return the richest. But, indeed, nowhere in all that estate is there a fig tree of Pompeii,¹¹⁸ or a vegetable of Aricia,¹¹⁹ or a rose of Tarentum, nowhere a pleasant coppice or a thick-set grove, or a shady plane-tree; all for profit rather than for pleasure, such as one would be bound to praise but not disposed to love. In judging a man of such reputation,¹²⁰ am I, think you, bold enough in my purpose and rash enough in my judgment? But when I remember that I am writing to you, I feel that I am not bold enough for your taste. On that point I am desperately doubtful — there's a home-grown hendecasyllable for you! So I must call a halt with you before I fall into the poetic vein. Farewell, most missed of men and dearest to your Verus,¹²¹ most honourable consul, master most sweet. Farewell, my sweetest soul.

After August 13, 143 A.D.

To my Lord Aurelius Caesar your consul Fronto.

1. What nice ears men have nowadays! What taste in judging of speeches! You can learn from our Aufidius¹²² what shouts of applause were evoked in my speech, and with what a chorus of approval were greeted the words *in those days every bust was decorated with patrician insignia*; but when, comparing a noble with a plebeian race, I said, *As if one were to think the flame kindled on a pyre and on an altar to be the same because both alike give light*, at this a few murmurs were heard.

2. Why have I told you this? That you, my Lord, may be prepared, when you speak before an assembly of men, to study their taste, not, of course, everywhere and by every means, yet occasionally and to some extent. And when you do so, remind yourself that you are but doing the same as you do when, at the people's request, you honour or enfranchise those who have slain beasts manfully in the arena;¹²³ criminals even they may be or felons, yet you release them at the people's request. Everywhere, then, the people prevail and get their way. Therefore must you so act and so speak as shall please the people.

3. Herein lies that supreme excellence of an orator, and one not easily attainable, that he should please his hearers without any great sacrifice of right

eloquence, and should let his blandishments, meant to tickle the ears of the people, be coloured indeed, but not along with any great or wholesale sacrifice of dignity: rather that in its composition and fabric there should be a lapse into a certain softness but no wantonness of thought. So, too, in a garment, I should prefer it to be of the softness that belongs to wool rather than to an effeminate colour; it should be of finely woven or silken thread, and itself purple not flame-red¹²⁴ or saffron. You and your father, moreover, who are bound to wear purple and crimson, must on occasion clothe your words, too, in the same dress. You will do this and be restrained and moderate with the best moderation and restraint. For this is what I prophesy, that what has ever been done in eloquence will be done to the full by you, so great is your natural capacity, and with such zeal and application do you devote yourself to learning;¹²⁵ although, in others, either application without capacity, or capacity alone without application, has won outstanding glory. I feel sure, my Lord, that you spend no little time in writing prose also. For though the swiftness of steeds is equally well exercised whether they run and practise at a gallop or a trot, yet the more serviceable qualities must be the more frequently put into requisition.

4. For by now I do not treat you as if I thought you were twenty-two¹²⁶ years old. At an age when I had scarcely touched any of the ancient authors you, by the grace of the gods and your own merit, have made such progress in eloquence as would bring fame to greybeards, and that, too — a far from easy task — in every branch of the art. For your letters, which you write so regularly, are enough to shew me what you can further do in that more familiar and Ciceronian vein.

5. Instead of Polemo the rhetorician, whom you lately presented to me in your letter as a Ciceronian, I have given back to you in my speech, which I delivered in the Senate, a philosopher,¹²⁷ if I am not mistaken, of the hoariest antiquity. Come, what say you, Marcus, how does my version of the story of Polemo strike you? Of course, Horatius Flaccus, a famous poet, and one with whom I have a connexion through Maecenas and my “gardens of Maecenas,”¹²⁸ supplied me with plenty of smart things on that subject. For this Horatius, in his second book of Satires, brings in the story of Polemo, if I remember rightly, in the following lines: —

Would you the marks of mental ill forswear,

*The scarf, spats, lappet, that the rake declare?
Be changed, like Polemo, who, in drunken rage,
Scoffed at the teaching of the sober sage;
But cut to the heart by what he heard, 'tis said,
Plucked off by stealth the garlands from his head.*

6. The verses which you sent me I have sent you back by our Victorinus, and this is how I have sent them. I have carefully sewn the paper across with thread, and so sealed the thread that that little mouse should poke his nose in anywhere. For he himself has never given me any information about your hexameters, so naughty is he and knavish. But he says that you purposely recite your hexameters so glibly and so fast that he cannot commit them to memory. So I have paid him back in his own coin: tit for tat — not to hear a line out of the packet. I remember, too, that you have often impressed upon me not to let anyone see your verses.

7. How is it with you, my Lord? Surely you are cheerful, surely you are well, surely sound in all respects. Other things are of little consequence, so you never give us the bad fright you did on your birthday.¹²⁹ If any evil threatens you, “may it fall on the Pyrrhaeans’ heads.”¹³⁰ Farewell, my joy, my refuge, happiness, glory. Farewell, and love me, I beseech you, every way in jest as in earnest.

I have written your mother a letter, such is my assurance, in Greek, and enclose it in my letter to you. Please read it first, and if you detect any barbarism in it, for you are fresher from your Greek than I am, correct it and so hand it over to your mother. I should not like her to look down on me as a goth. Farewell, my Lord, kiss your mother when you give her my letter, that she may read it the more gladly.

143 A.D.

Fronto to the Emperor Antoninus Pius Augustus.

As you remember, Caesar, when I returned thanks¹³¹ to you in the Senate . .

.....
..... Farewell.

Antoninus Caesar to Marcus Fronto.

How great is your goodwill towards myself I have long known well enough, by Hercules, but what astonishes me . . . best of orators, is that in such a hackneyed and thread-bare subject you can find anything to say that is new and worthy of your abilities. But no doubt the mere wish is an immense help towards what you can do so well. Nothing could be more effective than your thoughts, nothing more complimentary, yet without any sacrifice of good sense, than your expression of them. For I will not be guilty of defrauding you of your legitimate praise for fear of arrogantly praising the praise of myself. You have done your duty pleasingly and in unexceptionable fashion, for which, apart from all question of the subject, you deserve every credit. But as for shewing me your mind, it has not done much in that way, for I knew well enough that you always would put the most favourable construction on every word and act of mine. Farewell, my Fronto, my very dear friend.

That part of your speech, which you most kindly devoted to honouring my Faustina,¹³² seemed to me as true as it was eloquent. For this is the plain fact: By heaven, I would sooner live with her in Gyara¹³³ than in the palace without her.

143 A.D.

Marcus Caesar to his own consul and master.

1. Whether the Greeks of old ever wrote anything so good,¹³⁴ verily let those see to it who know; for myself, if I may say so, nowhere have I noticed in M. Porcius an invective so perfect as your praise. Oh, if my Lord *could* be praised enough, surely he had been enough praised by you. This work is not done in these days. Easier were it for one to rival Pheidias, easier Apelles, easier, in fine, Demosthenes himself or Cato himself, than this perfect and finished work. Never have I read anything so refined, so classical, so polished, so Latin. Oh, happy you to be gifted with such eloquence! Oh, happy I to be in the hands of such a master! What reasoned thoughts! What orderly arrangement! What elegance! What wit! What beauty! What diction! What brilliance! What subtlety! What charm! What practised skill! What

everything! My life on it, but some day you ought to have the wand¹³⁵ placed in your hand, the diadem round your brow, the tribunal under your feet: then the henild should summon all of us — why do I say us? I mean all your learned folk and your eloquent — one by one you should wave them along with your wand and admonish them with the words of your lips. For myself I never had any fear of these admonitions; I have more reasons than enough for setting foot in your school.¹³⁶

2. I am writing this to you in the utmost haste, for what need of a longer letter from me when I send you so gracious a one of my Lord's? Farewell, then, glory of Roman eloquence, pride of your friends, a man of mark,¹³⁷ most delightful of men, most honourable consul, master most sweet.

3. In future be chary of telling so many fibs, especially in the Senate, about me. This speech of yours is “awfully”¹³⁸ well written. Oh, if I could only kiss your head for every heading of it! You have absolutely put everyone else in the background. With this speech before our eyes, vain is our study, vain our toil, vain our efforts. Fare ever well, sweetest of masters.

Fronto to Domitia Lucilla

143 A.D.

To the mother of Caesar.

1. What excuse¹³⁹ of mine can win your pardon for my not having written to you all this time, if it be not by my stating the true cause of my want of leisure, that I had composed a speech about our great Emperor? The Roman saw bids us “not hate a friend's ways but ken them.”¹⁴⁰ What mine are I will tell you, and not conceal them. From my great natural incapacity and worthlessness I labour under much the same defect as the animal called by the Romans a hyena, whose neck, they say, can be stretched out straight forward but cannot be bent to either side.¹⁴¹ So I, when I am putting together anything with more than usual care, am, in a way, immovable, and, giving up all else, aim at that alone, like the hyena not turning to the right hand or to the left. Again, they say that the snakes called “darters”¹⁴² in much the same way project themselves straight forwards, but never move sideways; and spears and arrows are most likely to hit the mark when they are propelled straight,

neither made to swerve by the wind, nor foiled by Athene's hand or Apollo's, as were the arrows shot by Teucer or the suitors.

2. These three similes, then, have I applied to myself, two of them fierce and savage, that of the hyena and that of the snake, and a third drawn from missiles, it, too, non-human and harsh. And if, indeed, I were to say that of winds the one astern was especially to be commended because it takes a ship straight forward nor lets it make leeway, this would be a fourth simile, and that a forcible one. And if I added this also of the line, that the straight line is the chiefest of all lines, I should produce a fifth simile, not only inanimate like that of the spears, but this one also incorporeal.

3. What simile, then, can be found convincing? One above all that is human, better still if it be also cultured; and if it partake, too, of friendship and love, the simile would be all the more a similitude. They say that Orpheus rued his turning to look back: had he looked and walked straight ahead he had not rued. Enough of similes. For this, too, is somewhat unconvincing, this simile of Orpheus fetched up from Hades.

4. But I will now for the rest plead in excuse what will most easily win me pardon. What, then, is this? That in writing the Emperor's encomium I was doing, in the first place, what was especially gratifying to you and your son; in the next I remembered and mentioned both of you in the composition, just as lovers name their darlings over every cup. But, indeed, the craftsmanship of similes is an insinuating thing and grows on us. This one, at any rate, has occurred to me, which I add to all the others, and indeed it can most fairly be called a simile (or likeness), being taken from a painter. Protogenes the painter is said to have taken eleven¹⁴³ years to paint his Ialysus, painting nothing but the Ialysus all those eleven years. But, as for me, I painted not one but two Ialysuses at once, being no ordinary ones either of them, nor easy to depict, not only in respect of their faces and figures, but also of their characters and qualities, for the one is the great Imperator of all land and sea, and the other the great Imperator's son, his child in the same way as Athene is of Zeus, but thy son as Hephaestus is of Hera. But let there be no "halting"¹⁴⁴ in this simile from Hephaestus. This defence of mine, then, would seem to be wholly verisimilous and picturesque, full as it is in itself of similes entirely.

5. It remains that I should, after the fashion of geometers, ask — what? If any word in this letter be obsolete or barbarous, or in any other way

unauthorized, or not entirely Attic, look not at that, but only, I beseech you, at the intrinsic meaning of the word, for you know that I do spend time on mere words or mere idiom. And, indeed, it is said that the famous Scythian Anacharsis was by no means perfect in his Attic, but was praised for his meaning and his conceptions. I will compare myself, then, with Anacharsis, not, by heaven, in wisdom, but as being like him a barbarian. For he was a Scythian of the nomad Scythians, and I am a Libyan of the Libyan nomads. I as well as Anacharsis may browse fresh pastures, bleat therefore as well as he while browsing, just as one wills to bleat. See, I have assimilated barbarism to bleating. So will I make an end of writing nothing but similes.

143 A.D.

M. Caesar to the most honourable consul Fronto.

1. . . . connected by marriage¹⁴⁵ and not subject to guardianship and stationed besides in a social position in which, as Q. Ennius says,

All give foolish counsel, and look in all to pleasing only;

and Plautus, too, in his *Colax*, says finely on the same subject,

Crafty cajolers, who with fast-pledged faith

Take in the trustful: these stand round a king,

And what they speak is far from what they think.

These drawbacks used formerly to be confined to kings, but now, indeed, even the sons of kings have more than enough of men who, as Naevius¹⁴⁶ says,

Still flatter with their tongues and still assent,

*And fawn upon them to their heart's content.*¹⁴⁷

I do right, then, my master, in being so ardent, right in setting before me one single aim, right in thinking of one man only when I take my pen in hand.

2. You very kindly ask for my hexameters, and I too should have sent them at once if I had had them with me. But my secretary — you know him, I mean Anicetus — did not pack up any of my work when I set out. For he knows my failing and was afraid that, if they came into my hands, I should do as I

usually do, and consign them to the flames. But, as a matter of fact, those particular hexameters were in next to no danger. For, to tell my master the truth, I dote on them. I pore over them o' nights, for the day is spent in the theatre. And so I get through but little in the evening, being tired, and in the morning I get up sleepy. Still I have made for myself these last few days five notebooks full of extracts from sixty volumes. But when you read *sixty*, don't be staggered by the number, for included in them are the little Atellane farces of Novius and Scipio's speechlets.

3. As you have mentioned your Polemo, please don't mention Horace again, who, with Polio,¹⁴⁸ is dead and done with as far as I am concerned. Farewell, my dearest, my most beloved friend; farewell, my most honourable consul, my most sweet master, whom I have not seen these two years. For as to what some say, that two months¹⁴⁹ have intervened, they only count days. Shall I ever see you?

143 A.D.

To the most honourable consul, his master, M. Caesar, greeting.

Three years ago I remember turning aside with my father to the estate of Pompeius Falco¹⁵⁰ when on our way home from the vintage; and that I saw there a tree with many branches, which he called by its proper name of *catachanna*.¹⁵¹ But it seemed to me a new and extraordinary tree, bearing as it did upon its single stem off-shoots of almost every kind of tree

Naples, 143 A.D.

M. Aurelius Caesar to his own consul and master, greeting.

1. Since my last letter to you nothing has happened worth writing of, or the knowledge of which would be of the slightest interest to you. For we have passed whole days more or less in the same occupations: the same theatre, the same dislike of it, the same longing for you — the same, do I say? nay, one that is daily renewed and increases and, as Laberius, after his own manner and in his own peculiar style, says of love,

Your love as fast as any onion grows, as firm as any palm.

This then that he says of love, I apply to my longing for you. I should like

to write you a longer letter, but nothing suggests itself.

2. Stay, I have just thought of something. We have been listening to panegyrists here, Greeks, of course, but wondrous creatures, so much so that I, who am as far removed from Greek literature as is my native Caelian hill¹⁵² from the land of Greece, could nevertheless hope, matched with them, to be able to rival even Theopompus, the most eloquent, as I hear, of all the Greeks. So I, who am all but a living barbarian, have been impelled to write in Greek by men, as Caecilius¹⁵³ says, of *unimpaired ignorance*.

3. The climate of Naples is decidedly pleasant, but violently variable. Every two minutes it gets colder or warmer or rawer. To begin with, midnight is warm, as at Laurentum; then, however, the cock-crow watch chilly, as at Lanuvium; soon the hush of night and dawn and twilight till sunrise cold, for all the world like Algidus; anon the forenoon sunny, as at Tusculum; following that a noon as fierce as at Puteoli; but, indeed, when the sun has gone to his bath in Ocean, the temperature at last becomes more moderate, such as we get at Tibur; this continues the same during the evening and first sleep of night, until, as M. Porcius says, *the dead of night falls swiftly down*. But why do I string together these Masurian¹⁵⁴ banalities, when I started with saying I should write a few words only? So farewell, most kindly of masters, most honourable of consuls, and let your love be the measure of your longing for me.

Fronto to Marcus Aurelius

143 A.D.

The consul to his own Caesar.

Lucky brother¹⁵⁵ of mine to have seen you those two days! But I stick fast in Rome bound with golden fetters, looking forward to the first of September as the superstitious to the star,¹⁵⁶ at sight of which to break their fast. Farewell, Caesar, glory of your country and the Roman name. My Lord, farewell.

Fronto to Marcus Aurelius as Caesar

143 A.D.

To my Lord.

I have sent my Gratia¹⁵⁷ to keep your mother's birthday with her, and bidden her stay there till I come. The very moment, however, that I have laid down my consulship with the customary oath¹⁵⁸ I shall climb into my carriage and fly off to you. Meanwhile, I have pledged my word that my Gratia shall run no risk of starvation. For your mother will share with her *protégée* the tit-bits sent her by you. Nor is my Gratia a great eater, as lawyer's wives are said to be. She will live contentedly enough even on nothing but your mother's kisses. But what will become of poor me? There is not even a single kiss left anywhere in Rome. All my fortunes, all my joys are at Naples.

Tell me, I beseech you, what is the custom of laying down an office under oath a day earlier. What, am I not ready to swear by as many more gods as I can swear myself out of office days sooner? Again, am I to swear that I resign my consulship? Yea, and I will swear this, too, that I have long wished to resign it, that I may embrace Marcus Aurelius.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

143 A.D.

To the most honourable consul and my best of masters.

Verily this alone was wanting, that over and above all the other signal marks of your affection towards us you should also send Gratia here to join us in keeping my mother's birthday

Fronto to Domitia Lucilla

143 A.D.

To the mother of Marcus.

1. Willingly, willingly, by heaven, aye, with the greatest pleasure possible, have I sent my Gratia to keep your birthday with you, and would have come myself had it been lawful. But for myself this office is a clog round my feet. For there are a few days of it left, and these more than ever taken up with its duties. Once released from them, methinks I shall run to you with far more

eagerness than those who run the course; for they, after a moment's delay at the starting-place, are forthwith despatched on their race, while I have already been kept from running to you these two months.

2. The right thing, it seems, would have been that all women from all quarters should have gathered for this day and celebrated your birth-feast, first, all the women that love their husbands and love their children and are virtuous, and, secondly, all that are genuine and truthful, and the third company to keep the feast should have been the kind-hearted, and the affable and the accessible and the humble-minded; and many other ranks of women would there be to share in some part of your praise and virtue, seeing that you possess and are mistress of all virtues and accomplishments befitting a woman, just as Athena possesses and is mistress of every art, whereas of other women each one is mistress of some one branch of excellence and commended for it, just as the Muses are praised individually, each one for a single art.

3. But had I been at your door, acting as a sort of introducer of those who were worthy of the festival, the first I should have shut out, on Homer's authority, would have been those who make a pretence of good-will and are insincere, who "hide one thing in their hearts while their lips speak another,"¹⁵⁹ with whom everything, from laughter to tears, is make-believe. Truly laughter, that at first was naturally so without craft as to shew the teeth of the laugher, has now changed round to such a depth of malice and guile that those who laugh with sinister intent hide even their lips. This goddess, true woman that she is, who gets most worship from women, is Deceit, offspring, of a truth, of Aphrodite, and compact of many and various traits of womankind

143 A.D.

M. Caesar to his master.

. . . and my wrestling-master¹⁶⁰ had me by the throat. But what, you say, was the story? When my father had got home from the vineyards, I, as usual, mounted my horse and set off along the road, and had gone some little distance when I came upon a number of sheep in the road huddled together, as happens when there is little room, with four dogs and two shepherds; that was

all. Then one of the shepherds, seeing our cavalcade, said to his mate, *Marry, keep an eye on those mounted fellows, they be rare hands at pillaging.* Hearing that, I dug the spurs into my horse and galloped right into the flock. Frightened out of their wits, they ran helter-skelter bleating and fleeing in all directions. The shepherd whirled his crook at us. It fell on my equerry who was following me. We got clear off. So it chanced that he, who feared to lose his sheep, lost his crook. Do you think this a fiction? It really took place: yes, and there is more I could write to you of that adventure, but here comes the messenger to call me to my bath. Farewell, my sweetest of masters, most honoured and most unique of men, my joy, my treasure, my delight.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

143 A.D.

To my master.

Gratia¹⁶¹ the younger has served, as the elder Gratia did, to calm our anxiety for the while or sweep it altogether away at once. I thank you on behalf of my patron, M. Porcius, for the frequency with which you read him: you will never, I fear, be able to return me the compliment with respect to Gaius Crispus,¹⁶² for to M. Porcius alone have I devoted, aye and engaged, aye and given myself over heart and soul. Whence, too, think you, comes this very *aye and*?¹⁶³ From my very enthusiasm. The day after to-morrow shall be my gala day, if you really are coming. Farewell, dearest and most unique of men, sweetest of masters.

On the day of this Senate we seem more likely to be here than go there. But nothing is decided. Do von but come the day after to-morrow, and then let what will befall, Fare ever well for me, soul of mine. My mother greets you and yours.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

143 A.D.

To my master.

You, when you are away from me, read Cato; but I, when away from you, listen to lawyers till five o'clock. Oh, that this coming night might be the shortest known! so fain am I to burn less midnight oil, that I may the sooner see you. Farewell, my sweetest of masters. My mother sends her greeting. I can scarcely breathe, so tired am I.

144–145 A.D.

M. Caesar to his master sends greeting.

Verily in your kindness you have done me a great service. For that daily call at Lorium,¹⁶⁴ that waiting till late

144–145 A.D.

M. Aurelius Caesar to Fronto his master sends greeting.

1. Nay, surely it is I who am shameless¹⁶⁵ in ever submitting any of my writings to be read by genius so great, by judgment so great. The passage from your speech, which the Lord my father wished me to choose out, I even declaimed with appropriate action. Needless to say, the words cried aloud for their own author to deliver them: in fact, I was scarcely greeted with *Worthy of the maker!* But I will not delay telling you what you deservedly long for most. So struck was my Lord with what he heard that he was almost put out because business required his presence at the time elsewhere than in the court where you were to deliver your speech. He greatly admired the copiousness of the matter, the varied excellence of the diction, the witty originality of the thought, the skilful arrangement of the speech. And now you are asking, I imagine, what pleased me most. Listen: I begin with this passage.

2. *“In those affairs¹⁶⁶ and cases which are settled in private courts, no danger arises, since their decisions hold good only within the limits of the cases, but the precedents which you, Emperor, establish by your decrees will hold good publicly and for all time. So much greater is your power and authority than is assigned to the Fates. They determine what shall befall us as individuals: you by your decisions¹⁶⁷ in individual cases make precedents binding upon all.*

3. *“Therefore, if this decision of the proconsul is approved by you, you will*

give all magistrates of all provinces a rule for deciding all cases of the same kind. What, then, will be the result? This evidently, that all wills from distant and oversea provinces will be brought over to Rome for cognizance in your court. A son will suspect that he has been disinherited: he will demand that his father's will be not opened. The same demand will be made by a daughter; a grandson, a great grand-child, a brother; a cousin, a paternal uncle, a maternal uncle, a paternal aunt, a maternal aunt; relations of all degrees will usurp this privilege of forbidding the will to be opened, that they may enjoy possession the while by right of consanguinity. When, finally, the case has been referred to Rome, what will result? The heirs designate will set sail, while the disinherited will remain in possession, procrastinate from day to day, look about for delays, and so put off the courts on various pretexts. It is winter time and the wintry sea is rough; he has been unable to appear. Winter over, it is the equinoctial gales, fitful and sudden, that have delayed him. The spring is past: the summer is hot and the sun scorches voyagers, and the man is seasick. The fall follows: the fruit will be in fault and debility the excuse.

4. "I am imagining and inventing this? What, has not this actually occurred in this case? Where is the defendant who ought to have been here this long while past to plead his cause? 'He is on his way.' On what way, prithee? 'He is coming from Asia.' And so he is still in Asia? 'It is a long way and he has made haste.'¹⁶⁸ Is it on shipboard, or horseback, or by imperial post that he makes such headlong halts? Meanwhile, as soon as the trial is fixed, you are asked, Caesar, for a first adjournment, which is granted: the trial is fixed a second time,¹⁶⁹ a second time an adjournment of two months is asked for. The two months expired on the last ides, and since then several days have gone by. Has he come at last? If not yet come, is he, at all events, near? If not yet near, has he at least set out from Asia? If he has not yet set out, does he at least think of setting out? What else does he think of but keeping in his hands¹⁷⁰ the goods of others, plundering the proceeds, stripping the estate, wasting the whole property? He is not so foolish as to prefer coming to Caesar and losing his case to staying in Asia and keeping possession.¹⁷¹

5. "If this custom be brought in, that the wills of the deceased should be sent to Rome from the oversea provinces, the imperilling of wills would be more discreditable and distressing than if it were the custom for the bodies of the deceased, who make their wills oversea, to be sent to Rome. For no

further peril can touch them. A corpse is assured of burial in its very mishaps. For whether it be swallowed by the sea in shipwreck, or swept away in a moment by a river, or the sands cover it, whether the beasts of the field devour it, or the birds of the air pick its bodies, the human body is practically buried wherever it is dissolved. But when by shipwreck a will is engulfed, the estate and home and family in question is then and there shipwrecked and lies unburied. Time was when wills used to be brought out from the securest temples of the Gods, from muniment rooms, or chests, or archives, or temple vestries: bid now shall wills sail the stormy seas amid bales of merchandise and rowers' kit. The next thing will even be for them to be jettisoned¹⁷² with a cargo of pulse, should it become necessary to lighten the ship. Moreover, also, an import duty to be levied on wills must be fixed. In time past . . .

6. *"But to say something as to the burial. The household would know how to mourn. The slave enfranchised under the will has one way of shewing sorrow, the client mentioned with praise another; another the friend honoured with a legacy. Why throw uncertainty and delay over the funeral rites? In the case of all animals the inheritance is realized at once after death: from sheep the wool is stripped at once, and from the elephant his ivory, their claws from lions, from birds their feathers and plumes; but a man dies and his inheritance lies derelict, is put aside,¹⁷³ left as a prey to robbers, it is made away with."*

7. I think I have copied out the whole. What indeed could I do, when I admired the whole man, loved the whole man — blessings on him — so much? Farewell, my master, most eloquent, most learned, most dear to me, most sweet, whom I most long for, miss the most.

The son of Herodes,¹⁷⁴ born to-day, is dead. Herodes is overwhelmed with grief at his loss. I wish you would write him quite a short letter appropriate to the occasion. Fare ever well.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

? 144–145 A.D.

To my Lord.

1. I have received your letter, O Caesar, and the great delight it gave me you will easily gauge if you consider these separate points. First, and this is

the head and front of all my joy, that I know you are well; then because I felt that you loved me so well as not to be able to set any bound or limit to your love, so as not to find something to do for me every day more kindly and more friendly than before. In fine, I have long thought myself loved enough, but you are not yet satisfied with your affection for me, so that deeper than ever plummet sounded is your love toward me, insomuch that I might quite well make the complaint, Why do you not yet love me with the utmost love possible, for by loving me more from day to day you prove that your love hitherto has fallen short of its utmost measure?

2. Think you that my consulship has been such a delight as the many tokens you have given me of your love in this one case? Samples of my speech, which I had picked out for you, you read to your father yourself, and took the pains to declaim them, wherein you lent me your eyes, your voice, your gestures, and, above all, your mind for my service. Nor can I see which single one of the ancient writers, whose writings were declaimed to the people by Aesopus¹⁷⁵ or Roscius, was more fortunate than I. *My* speech has had Marcus Caesar for its actor and declaimer, and it was by your agency and through your voice that I pleased the hearers, whereas to be heard by you and to please you would be the height of every man's ambition. No wonder, then, my speech found favour, set off, as it was, by the dignity of your utterance. For many a thing, that lacks all intrinsic charm, borrows from elsewhere a grace that is not its own, and this is the case even with our homeliest eatables. No pot-herb, no bit of flesh is so cheap or commonplace a food as not to gain piquancy if served in a golden dish. The same is true of flowers and garlands: they have one scale of worth when sold by flower-vendors in the Flower-market, another when offered in a temple by the priests.

3. So much more fortunate am I than was Hercules or Achilles, for their armour and weapons were borne by Philoctetes and Patroclus, men far inferior to them in manhood, while my poor, not to say sorry, speech has been rendered famous by Caesar the most learned and eloquent of all men. Never was scene so impressive — M. Caesar actor, Titus Imperator audience! What nobler fate could befall anyone save that alone, when in Heaven, as poets tell, the Muses sing, while Jove their sire is audience? Indeed, with what words could I express my delight at your sending me that speech of mine copied out with your own hand? True, surely, is what our Laberius¹⁷⁶ says, that in

inspiring love *charms* are but *harms*¹⁷⁷ and the *foison* of gifts *poison*. For never with cup or philtre could anyone so have stirred the flame of passion in a lover as by this act of yours you have dazed and amazed me by the ardour of your love. For every letter of your letter I count myself to have gained a consulship, a victory, a triumph, a robe of honour.

4. What fortune like this befell M. Porcius or Quintus Ennius, Gaius Gracchus, or the poet Titius? What Scipio or Numidicus? What M. Tullius, like this? Their books are valued more highly and have the greatest credit, if they are from the hand of Lampadio or Staberius, of Plautius or D. Aurelius, Autrico or Aelius, or have been revised by Tiro or transcribed by Domitius Balbus, or Atticus or Nepos. My speech will be extant in the handwriting of M. Caesar. He that thinks little of the speech will be in love with the very letters of it; he who disdains the thing written will reverence the writer. Just as if Apelles painted an ape or a fox, he would add a value to the lowest of creatures. Or as M. Cato (said) of

To Herodes from Fronto.¹⁷⁸

? 144–145 A.D.

. But in lesser evils to act with composure is not difficult. For, indeed, in any case to resent an evil, even if it befall unexpectedly, is unseemly for a man who has tasted of education. But it is in joy that I should be more ready to overstep the bounds, for if we are to act unreasonably it is preferable to do so in reference to pleasure than to pain. But you are not even too old¹⁷⁹ to rear other children. Every loss is grievous if hope be cut off with it, but easier to bear if hope of repairing it be left. And he that does not avail himself of this hope is mean-spirited and his own enemy, much more than Fortune. For Fortune takes away the present reality, but he deprives himself of hope as well. And I will tell you where you can most easily get consolation, as I have learnt by experience and not by learning. Often has it been my fate to suffer in my affections. At one time it was Athenodotus the philosopher, at another Dionysius the rhetor¹⁸⁰ that I loved: and yet, when I reflected that he was preserved to me whom it was my fortune to love, I was less at the mercy of grief and circumstance. But if you as well as I love a noble youth,¹⁸¹

distinguished for virtue and learning and fortune and modesty, you cannot go wrong if you attach yourself to him and set in him all your assurance of good fortune, since as long as he remains to us — for I confess, and make no secret of it, that I am your rival in his love — everything else is remediable and of infinitely less importance than this.

M. Aurelius to Fronto

? 144–145 A.D.

To my master.

What do you suppose are my feelings when I think how long it is since I have seen you, and why I have not seen you? And perhaps for a few days yet, while you are perforce nursing yourself, I shall not see you. So while you are down in bed, my spirits will be down too; and when by God's grace you stand on your feet, my spirits also will stand fast, that are now fevered with the most burning longing for you. Fare ever well, soul of your Caesar, of your friend, of your pupil.

Fronto to Marcus Aurelius as Caesar

? 144–145 A.D.

To my Lord.

I am confined to my bed. If I should be fit for the journey when you go to Centumcellae¹⁸² I shall see you, please God, at Lorium on the seventh day before the Ides. Make my apologies to my Lord your father, whom — may heaven preserve you both — I love and honour all the more intensely since the excellent decision in the Senate, which, while safeguarding the interests of the provinces, at the same time gently rebuked the offenders.

When you inaugurate your game preserve, be sure that you remember, without fail, if you strike a beast, to set your horse at full gallop. Of course you will bring Galba to Centumcellae, or can you be at Lorium,¹⁸³ on the 8th before the Ides? Farewell, my Lord, please your father, greet your mother, miss me. You know better than I what Cato says of Galba's acquittal.¹⁸⁴ As far

as I remember he was acquitted for the sake of his nephews. But see for yourself what the truth of the matter is. Cato, in consequence, is of opinion that no one should bring into court his own or others' children to excite pity, nor wives nor relations, nor any women at all. Greet my Lady your mother.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

? 144–145 A.D.

To my master.

I did not write to you in the morning, hearing that you were better, and being myself engaged in other business; and I never care to write at all to you unless my mind is unbent and at ease and free. Therefore, if our news is correct, assure me of it. For you know what I wish, and I know how rightly I wish it. Farewell, my master, so rightly first in my thoughts before all others on all occasions. See, my master, I am not sleepy, yet force myself to sleep that you may not be angry. You realize, at any rate, that I am writing this in the evening.

Signia, ? 144–145 A.D.

M. Caesar to his master M. Fronto, greeting.

1. After getting into the carriage, when I had said good-bye to you, we did not have such a bad journey, though we got a slight wetting from the rain. But before reaching our country house we turned aside to Anagnia, about a mile off the main road. Then we inspected that ancient township, a tiny place, indeed, but containing many antiquities and buildings, and religious ceremonies beyond number. There was not a corner without its chapel or shrine or temple. Many books too, written on linen,¹⁸⁵ and this has a religious significance. Then on the gate, as we came out, we found an inscription twice over to this effect: *Flamen sume samentum*.¹⁸⁶ I asked one of the townsmen what the last word meant. He said it was Hernican for the pelt of the victim, which the priest draws over his peaked cap on entering the city. Quite a number of other things we learnt which we were glad to know; but the one thing we are not glad of is that it was in your absence: that is our chief

concern.

2. Now for yourself, did you, when you left us, go to the Aurelian district¹⁸⁷ or into Campania? Mind you tell me, and whether you have begun the vintage, and whether you have brought crowds of books to your country house, yes, and this, too, whether you miss me; and yet that is a foolish question, for you need no reminder to do that. Well, then, if you do miss me and do love me, you will write to me often to console me and cheer me up.¹⁸⁸ For I would ten times rather have the run¹⁸⁹ of your letters than of all the vineyards of the Massic¹⁹⁰ and the Gauran Mount: for your clusters of Signia are too nauseous and their hemes too bitter, wherefore I would prefer their wine to their must for drinking. Besides it is much more agreeable to masticate the grapes parched than pulpy, for beyond question I would rather stamp them with my feet than champ them with my teeth. Yet may they be gracious and forgiving, and for these pleasantries a kindly pardon grant. Farewell, to me most affectionate, most delightful, most eloquent of men, master most sweet. When you see the must fermenting in the cask, let it remind you that my longing for you wells up thus and overflows and foams in my breast. Fare ever well.

M. Aurelius to Fronto

? 144–145 A.D.

Hail, most reverend master.

1. We are well. By a satisfactory arrangement of meals I worked from three o'clock a.m. till eight. For the next hour I paced about in slippers most contentedly before my bedroom. Then putting on my boots and donning my cloak — for we had been told to come in that dress — I went off to pay my respects to my Lord.

2. We set out for the chase¹⁹¹ and did doughty deeds. We did hear say that boars had been bagged, for we were not lucky enough to see any. However, we climbed quite a steep hill; then in the afternoon we came home. I to my books: so taking off my boots and doffing my dress I passed nearly two hours on my couch, reading Cato's speech *On the property of Pulchra*,¹⁹² and another in which he impeached a tribune. *Ho*, you cry to your boy, *go as fast*

as you can and fetch me those speeches from the libraries of Apollo!¹⁹³ It is no use your sending, for those volumes, among others, have followed me here. So you must get round the librarian of Tiberius's library:¹⁹⁴ a little *douceur* will be necessary, in which he and I can go shares when I come back to town. Well, these speeches read, I wrote a little wretched stuff, fit to be dedicated to the deities of water and fire: truly to-day I have been unlucky in my writing, the lucubration of a sportsman or a vintager, such as those whose catches¹⁹⁵ ring through my bedroom, a noise every whit as hateful and wearisome as that of the law-courts. What is this I have said? Nay, 'tis true, for my master is an *orator*.

3. I think I must have taken a chill, whether from walking about in slippers in the early morning, or from writing badly, I know not. I only know that, rheumy enough at all times, I seem to be more drivelling than ever to-day. So I will pour the oil on my head and go off to sleep, for not a drop of it do I intend to pour into my lamp to-day, so tired am I with riding and sneezing. Farewell for my sake, dearest and sweetest of masters, whom I would make bold to say I long to see more than Rome itself.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

? 144–145 A.D.

Hail, my sweetest of masters.

1. We are well. I slept somewhat late owing to my slight cold, which seems now to have subsided. So from five a.m. till nine I spent the time partly in reading some of Cato's *Agriculture* and partly in writing not quite such wretched stuff, by heavens, as yesterday. Then, after paying my respects to my father, I relieved my throat, I will not say by gargling — though the word *gargarisso* is, I believe, found in Novius and elsewhere — but by swallowing honey water as far as the gullet and ejecting it again. After easing my throat I went off to my father and attended him at a sacrifice.¹⁹⁶ Then we went to luncheon. What do you think I ate? A wee bit of bread, though I saw others devouring beans, onions, and herrings full of roe. We then worked hard at grape-gathering,¹⁹⁷ and had a good sweat, and were merry and, as the poet says, *still left some clusters hanging high as gleanings of the vintage*.¹⁹⁸ After

six o'clock we came home.

2. I did but little work and that to no purpose. Then I had a long chat with my little mother as she sat on the bed. My talk was this: *What do you think my Fronto is now doing?* Then she: *And what do you think my Gratia is doing?* Then I: *And what do you think our little sparrow, the wee Gratia,¹⁹⁹ is doing?* Whilst we were chattering in this way and disputing which of us two loved the one or other of you two the better, the gong sounded, an intimation that my father had gone to his bath. So we had supper after we had bathed in the oil-press room; I do not mean bathed in the oil-press room, but when we had bathed, had supper there, and we enjoyed hearing the yokels chaffing one another. After coming back, before I turn over and snore, I get my task done and give my dearest of masters an account of the day's doings, and if I could miss him more, I would not grudge wasting away a little more. Farewell, my Fronto, wherever you are, most honey-sweet, my love, my delight. How is it between you and me? I love you and you are away.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

? 144–145 A.D.

Hail, my sweetest of masters.

At last the messenger is starting, and at last I can send you my three days' budget of news. But I cannot *say* anything, to such an extent have I exhausted my breath by dictating nearly thirty letters. For as to your last opinion on the question of letters, I have not yet broached the matter to my father. But when we come, God willing, to Rome, remind me to tell you something on this matter. But you and I are so much up in the clouds that neither will you remind me nor I tell you: and yet, indeed, it really needs consideration. Farewell, my — what shall I say when whatever I say is inadequate? — farewell my longing, my light, my delight.

M. Aurelius to Fronto

? 144–145 A.D.

To my master, greeting.

Your brother but now brought me the good news of your arrival. Heaven knows I long for you to be able to come, if only your health will allow of it, for I hope that the sight of you may do something for my health also. *Sweet 'tis to look into a friend's kind eyes*, as Euripides,²⁰⁰ I take it, says. My present condition you can easily gauge by the shakiness of my handwriting. As far as my strength is concerned, it is certainly beginning to come back. The pain in my chest, too, is quite gone; but the ulcer the trachea. I am under treatment and taking every care that nothing militates against its success. For I feel that my protracted illness can be made more bearable only by a consciousness of unfailing care and strict obedience²⁰¹ to the doctors' orders. Besides, it were shame, indeed, that a disease of the body should outlast a determination of the mind to recover health. Farewell, my most delightful of masters. My mother greets you.

Fronto to Marcus Aurelius as Caesar

? 144–145 A.D.

To my Lord.

I have been troubled, my Lord, in the night with widespread pains in my shoulder and elbow and knee and ankle. In fact, I have not been able to convey this very news to you in my own writing.

Fronto to Marcus Aurelius as Caesar

? 144–145 A.D.

To my Lord.

I have received your letter, most charmingly expressed, in which you say that the intermission in my letters has caused a longing for them to arise in you. Socrates was right, then, in his opinion that “pleasures are generally linked to pains,” when in his imprisonment he held that the pain caused by the tightness of his chains was made up for by the pleasure of their removal.²⁰² Precisely so in our case the fondness which absence stimulates brings as much

comfort as the absence itself causes affliction. For fond longing comes from love. Therefore, absence makes the heart grow fonder, and this is far the best thing in friendship. Then as to my health, about which you enquire, I had already written to you that I was suffering so much pain in the shoulder that I could not succeed in writing the very letter in which I mentioned it, but, contrary to my usual custom, had to employ another hand

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

? 144–145 A.D.

To my master, greeting.

These things at present Farewell, my dearest Fronto, my mother greets you. Greet our consul²⁰³ and our lady.

Fronto to Marcus Aurelius as Caesar

145–147 A.D.

To my Lord.

If you have any love at all for me, sleep those nights that you may come into the Senate²⁰⁴ with a good colour and read with a strong voice.

M. Aurelius to Fronto

145–147 A.D.

To my master.

I can never love you enough: I will sleep.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

145–147 A.D.

To my Lord.

For pity's sake, cancel one word from your speech and, I entreat you, never use it — *dictio for oratio*. Farewell, my Lord, my everlasting glory. Greet my Lady your mother.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

145–147 A.D.

Answer.

To-morrow, if you will remind me, I will state my case for this word.²⁰⁵

From the Index

Fronto to Marcus and Marcus to Fronto Alternately

145–147 A.D.

To my Lord. (Tell me) how strong you feel on arriving

To my master. I arrived quite strong

To my Lord. Take food, my Lord

To my master. I have taken food²⁰⁶

To my Lord. If Faustina's²⁰⁷ courage

To my master. I both bow to your advice

To my Lord. But, by heaven, the completion of the time

To my master. Too long anxious

To my Lord. I indeed (was) wonderfully (pleased)

To my master. Into the midst of worries

To my Lord. I have been worn out with work

To my master. That fatigue of yours

To my Lord. Lately Gratia

To my master. Possibly enough for that matter

To my Lord. I have halted at Caieta²⁰⁸

M. Aurelius to Fronto

To my master.

. in two days now, if that is best, let us clench our teeth all the same; and as you are just recovering from illness, to shorten the journey, wait for us at Caieta. I begin to be dainty,²⁰⁹ as generally happens with those who have at last in their grasp what they long for: they are carried away,²¹⁰ they feel in affluence, they are exultant: for myself, however, I am even disgusted with everything. My Lady mother greets you. I shall ask her to-day to bring Gratia to me — *even the smoke of one's fatherland*, as the Greek poet²¹¹ says. Farewell, my — all in all — master. I love myself at the thought of seeing you.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

145–147 A.D.

To my Lord.

After you had set out, I was seized with pain in the knee, but so slight that I could both walk slowly and use a carriage. To-night the pain has come on more violently, but so that I can easily bear it lying down, if it gets no worse. I hear that your Augusta is poorly. I pray the Gods, indeed, to have care of her health. Farewell, most sweet Lord. Greet my Lady.²¹²

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

145–147 A.D.

To my Lord.

Victorinus²¹³ has just told me that your Lady is more feverish than yesterday. Gratia reported that everything had taken a turn for the better. The reason that I have not seen you is that I am indisposed with a bad cold. Tomorrow morning, however, I will come to you at home. At the same time I will call on your Lady also, if convenient.

145–147 A.D.

To my master.

Faustina has been feverish to-day also, and, in fact, I fancy I have noticed it more to-day. But the Gods be thanked she herself makes me less anxious by being such an obedient patient. Of course you would have come had you been able. I am rejoiced that you can come now, and promise to do so, my master. Farewell, most delightful of masters.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

Lorium, 145–147 A.D.

To my master.

You indeed are playful,²¹⁴ but by this letter of yours you have sent me immense anxiety and intense distress, most acute pain and burning fever, so that I have no heart to sup or sleep or even study. But you would find some comfort in your speech to-day, whereas I, what am I to do? who have already forestalled the pleasure of hearing it and fear that your visit to *Lorium* may be delayed, and am in pain because you meanwhile are in pain. Farewell, my master, whose health makes my health unimpaired and assured.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

145–147 A.D.

To my master.

This is how I have passed the last few days. My sister²¹⁵ was seized suddenly with such pain in the privy parts that it was dreadful to see her. Moreover, my mother, in the flurry of the moment, inadvertently ran her side against a corner of the wall, causing us as well as herself great pain by the accident. For myself, when I went to lie down I came upon a scorpion in my bed²¹⁶ ; however, I was in time to kill it before lying down upon it. If you are better, that is a consolation. My mother feels easier now, thank the Gods.

Farewell, best and sweetest of masters. My Lady²¹⁷ greets you.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

145–147 A.D.

To my Lord.

I am truly thankful to the Gods that they have kept you safe and unharmed.²¹⁸ You, I make no doubt, were unperturbed, for I know your philosophic views; for myself, however much you wiseacres may laugh at me, I confess I was thoroughly shocked. Farewell, my most sweet Lord, and may the Gods have you in their keeping. Greet my Lady.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

145–147 A.D.

To my Lord.

I am anxious to know, my Lord, how you are keeping. I have been seized with pain in the neck. Farewell, my Lord. Greet your Lady.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

145–147 A.D.

To my master, greeting.

I think I have got through the night without fever. I have taken food without repugnance, and am doing very nicely now. We shall see what the night brings. But, my master, by your late anxiety you can certainly gauge my feelings when I learnt that you had been seized with pain in the neck. Farewell, my most delightful of masters. My mother greets you.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

145–147 A.D.

To my Lord.

I have been seized, my Lord, with a most severe pain in the neck. The pain has gone from my foot. Farewell, best of Lords. Greet my Lady.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

145–147 A.D.

To my master, greeting.

If the pains in your neck get better, even in two days' time, it will help on my convalescence more than anything, my master. I have had a bath and to-day even done a little walking and taken a little more food, but not as yet without discomfort. Farewell, my most delightful of masters.

My mother greets you.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

145–147 A.D.

To my master, greeting.

I cannot but be distressed that at the very time when you were writing to me your neck was so painful, nor indeed do I wish to be, nor ought I to be, other than distressed. As for me, thanks be to the Gods and your prayers, I have bathed to-day, and taken sufficient food, and wine too I have used with relish. Farewell, my most delightful of masters. My mother greets you.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

145–147 A.D.

To my Lord.

The pains in my neck are no easier, but my mind was set at rest as soon as I knew that you had been able to take a bath and relish your wine. Farewell, my Lord. Greet your Lady.

Caesar to Fronto.

Thank the Gods we seem to have some hopes of recovery. The diarrhoea is stopped, the feverish attacks got rid of; but the emaciation is extreme, and there is still some cough. You understand, of course, that I am telling you of our little Faustina²¹⁹ who has kept us very anxious. Mind you let me know, my master, if, as I heartily pray, your health is improving.

145–147 A.D.

Fronto to Caesar.

1. Good heavens! how shocked I was on reading the beginning of your letter! It was written in such a way that I thought some danger to your health was meant. Then, when the danger, which at the beginning of your note I had taken to be yours, was shewn to be your daughter Faustina's, how transformed was my apprehension. Yet not merely transformed, but in some subtle way a little relieved. You may say, *Did my daughter's danger seem of less account to you than mine? Could it so seem to you, who protest that "Faustina is to you as a limpid light, as a gala day, as a near and dear hope, as a wish fulfilled, as an unalloyed delight, as a glory noble and assured"*? I know, indeed, what came into my mind on reading your letter, but why it came to be so I do not know: I do not know, I say, why I was more shocked at your danger than at your daughter's, unless, perchance, though things be equally bad, yet those seem worse which are the first to fall on our ears. What is, in fact, the cause of this you are more likely to know, for about the nature and feelings of men your knowledge is somewhat wider than mine, and you have learnt your lesson better. Tolerably well trained as I was by my master and parent Athenodotus in the nice apprehension by the mind and application of illustrations and, as it were, similes of things, which he called εἰκόνας, I think I have hit upon the following simile of this kind, to explain the fact that the transference of my fear seemed an alleviation of it — that much the same thing happens to those who, carrying a heavy weight on their shoulder, transfer it from the right shoulder to the left, so that, though the burden remains as it was, yet the transference of the pressure seems even a relief.

2. Now, since you have quite dispelled all my fear and anxiety by the last part of your letter, in which you announced that Faustina was now somewhat better,²²⁰ it seems the very time for a little easy and unconstrained chat with you on my love for you; for those who are freed from a great fear and apprehension are generally allowed to indulge in a little playfulness and frivolity. I feel how dearly I love you, as much from weighty and serious proofs as also from many trifles. What these trifles are, and of what nature, I will point out.

3. Whenever “with soft slumber’s chains around me,” as the poet says, I see you in my dreams, there is never a time but I embrace and kiss you: then, according to the tenor of each dream, I either weep copiously or am transported with some great joy and pleasure. This is one proof of my love, taken from the *Annals*,²²¹ a poetical and certainly a dreamy one. Listen to another, a quarrelsome and contentious one this time. I have occasionally inveighed against you behind your back in somewhat strong terms before a very few of my most intimate friends. Time was I did this, when you went about in public gatherings with too serious a face,²²² as when you used to read books either in the theatre²²³ or at a banquet — nor was I then refraining from theatres, nor as yet from banquets — on such occasions, then, I would call you an austere²²⁴ and unreasonable, even at times, stung by anger, a disagreeable sort of person. But if anyone else found fault with you in my hearing with similar detraction, I could not listen to him with any patience. So it was easier for me to say this of you myself than to suffer others to speak any ill of you: just as I could more easily strike my daughter Gratia myself than see her struck by another.

4. I will add the third of my trifles. You know how in all money-changer’s bureaux, booths, bookstalls, eaves, porches, windows, anywhere and everywhere there are likenesses of you exposed to view, badly enough painted most of them to be sure, and modelled or carved in a plain, not to say sorry, style of art, yet at the same time your likeness, however much a caricature, never when I go out meets my eyes without making me part my lips for a smile and dream of you.

5. Now to call a truce to my trifles and to return to seriousness; this letter of yours served in no small degree to shew the depth of my love for you, since I was more shocked at your danger than your daughter’s, whereas, in other

respects, I should wish you, indeed, to survive for my sake, but your daughter also for yours, as is right. But hark you, see that you do not turn informer or appear as a witness before your daughter, to make her think that I love you more than her; for there is a danger of your daughter being put out in consequence, as she is a serious and old-fashioned lady, and when I ask for her hands and feet to kiss, of her drawing them away from pique at this, or tendering them grudgingly: whose tiny hands and plump little feet I shall then kiss, by heaven, with more zest than your royal neck and your honest and merry lips.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

145–147 A.D.

To my master.

I shall have the whole day free. If you have ever loved me at all, love me to-day, and send me a rich²²⁵ subject, I ask and request and beseech and entreat and implore. For in that law-court subject I found nothing but exclamations.²²⁶ Farewell, best of masters. My Lady greets you. I want something where there ought to be shouts of approval. Humour me and pick out a “shouting” subject.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

145–147 A.D.

To my Lord.

I have slept late. I have sent you a theme: the case is a serious one. A consul of the Roman people, laying aside his robes, has donned a coat of mail and among the young men at the feast of Minerva²²⁷ has slain a lion in the sight of the Roman people. He is denounced before the Censors. Put into shape and develop. Farewell, most sweet Lord. Greet your Lady.

From Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

145–147 A.D.

Answer.

When did it occur and was it at Rome? Do you mean that it took place under Domitian at his Alban Villa.²²⁸ Besides in such a theme it will take more time to make the fact credible than to treat it with the indignation it deserves. It seems to me an improbable subject. I certainly should have preferred one such as I asked for. Let me know the date by return.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

145–147 A.D.

To my master, greeting.

That you should keep a happy vintage, and that in the best of health, is my wish, my master. I am much relieved by the news of my little lady²²⁹ telling me, the Gods be praised, that she is better. Farewell, my most delightful of masters.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

145–147 A.D.

To my Lord.

I am keeping the vintage in my “gardens.”²³⁰ I am fairly well, but I cannot walk with comfort owing to pain in the toes of my left foot. Every morning I pray the Gods for Faustina, for you know that by so doing I wish and pray for your health. Farewell, my most sweet Lord. Greet my Lady.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

145–147 A.D.

To my master.

As far as I am concerned, the writing is finished — so send me something else to write — but my secretary was not at hand to copy out what I wrote.

However, what I wrote was not to my mind, as I was hurried, and your being poorly took a good deal out of me. But I will ask your indulgence tomorrow, when I send it. Farewell, my sweetest of masters. The Lady my mother sends you greeting. Let me have the name of the people's tribune against whom Acilius the censor, of whom I wrote, set a mark.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

145–147 A.D.

To my Lord.

My answer to you, my Lord, has been somewhat delayed, for I delayed to open your letter, as I was on my way to the forum to plead. I feel better, but the little sore is deeper. Farewell, my sweetest of Lords. Greet my Lady.

M. Lucilius,²³¹ a tribune of the people, against the decision of his colleagues and with his own hand cast into prison by force a Roman citizen, though they ordered his discharge. For that action he was “marked” by the Censors. First divide the case, then try your hand on either side both as accuser and defender. Farewell, my Lord, the light of all your friends. Greet your lady mother.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

145–147 A.D.

To my master.

Gaius Aufidius²³² gives himself airs, extols his own judgment to the skies, says that not another man more just than himself ever came from Umbria, for I must not exaggerate, to Rome. What need of more? He would rather win praise as a judge than as an orator. When I smile, he turns up his nose. Anyone, he says, can sit yawning beside a judge, but to be a judge is indeed to do noble work. This is meant for me! However the affair has turned out finely. All is well: I rejoice. Your coming makes me happy and at the same time uneasy. Why happy, it needs not to enquire: wherefore uneasy I will, ‘fore heaven, avow to you. For with plenty of time on my hands I have not given an

atom of it to the task you gave me to write. Ariston's²³³ books just now treat me well and at the same time make me feel ill. When they teach me a better way, then, I need not say, they treat me well; but when they shew me how far short my character comes of this better way, time and time again does your pupil blush and is angry with himself, for that, twenty-five years old as I am,²³⁴ no draught has my soul yet drunk of noble doctrines and purer principles. Therefore I do penance, am wroth with myself, am sad, compare myself with others, starve myself. A prey to these thoughts at this time, I have put off each day till the morrow the duty of writing. But now I will think out something, and as a certain Athenian orator once warned an assembly of his countrymen, that *the laws must sometimes be allowed to sleep*,²³⁵ I will make my peace with Ariston's works and allow them to lie still awhile, and after reading some of Tully's minor speeches I will devote myself entirely to your stage poet.²³⁶ However, I can only write on one side or the other, for as to my defending both sides of the question, Ariston will, I am sure, never sleep so soundly as to allow me to do that!²³⁷ Farewell, best and most honoured of masters. My Lady greets you.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

145–147 A.D.

To my Lord.

I cannot see you, my Lord, till the day after tomorrow; for I am still laid up with pain in the elbow and neck. Bear with me, I beseech you, if what I ask of you is too great and difficult, so rooted in my mind is the conviction that you can succeed in all your endeavours. And I will let you hate me, if you do not accomplish all that I ask, provided that you apply, as you do, heart and mind to it. Farewell, my Lord, dearer to me than my life. Greet my Lady your mother.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

145–147 A.D.

To my Lord.

1. The coining of new words, or onomatopoeia, which is allowed to poets to enable them more easily to express their thoughts, is a necessity to me for describing my joy. For customary and habitual words do not satisfy me; so transported am I with joy that I cannot in ordinary language signify the gladness of my heart at your having written me so many letters in so few days,²³⁸ composed too with such felicity, such friendship, such kindness, such fulness, such ardour, though you were distracted by so much business, so many duties, so many letters to be answered throughout the provinces.²³⁹ But indeed I had purposed — for I must not keep anything hidden or dissembled from you — I had purposed, I say, to incur even the reproach of laziness from you by writing to you less often, rather than to trouble you, amid your many engagements, with my letters and tempt you to write, whereas you of your own accord have written to me daily. But why do I say *daily*? It is just here that the need of word-coining comes in. For it would be *daily*, if you had written one letter a day; since however, there are more letters than days, that word *daily* falls short of the meaning. For is there need, my Lord, for you to be vexed with me for actually fearing that my too frequent letters should be a burden to you; for the more you love me, the more chary should I be of adding to your work, and the more forbearing in respect of your occupations.

2. What is sweeter to me than your kiss? That sweet fragrance, that delight dwells for me in your neck, on your lips. Yet the last time you were setting out, when your father had already got into the carriage, but you were delayed by the crowd of those who were saying good-bye and kissing you, it was to your advantage that I alone of all did not embrace or kiss you. So too in all other things, I will never set my convenience before your interests, for, if need were, with heaviest toil and service of mine I would purchase your slightest ease.

3. Considering therefore, how much labour the writing of letters imposed upon you, I had determined to address you more sparingly, when you wrote daily to me. When I got those letters of yours I was in similar plight to a lover, who sees his darling running towards him along a rough and dangerous pathway. For he rejoices at the loved one's coming at the same time that he fears the danger. Consequently I do not care for the story,²⁴⁰ which is such a favourite with actors, where a loving girl standing by night in a turret with a

lighted taper in her hand, awaits her young lover as he swims the straits. For though I burn with love for you, I would rather be severed utterly from you than let you swim so deep a sea so late at night, for fear the moon should set, the wind dash out your light, the cold benumb your senses there, a wave, a reef, a sea-beast in some way work you harm. This language were more fitting for a lover and better and more sound — not at the peril of another's life to seek to enjoy a pleasure short in duration and fraught with regret.

4. Now to turn from fiction to reality, my especial anxiety was lest I should add to your unavoidable labours some superfluous trouble and burden, if besides those letters which your unavoidable duties require you to write daily to very many correspondents, I too should weary you with answering my letters. For I should prefer to sacrifice every advantage of your love, rather than that you should suffer the slightest inconvenience to gratify my pleasure.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar.

? 148–149 A.D.

To my Lord.

I have been seized with very severe pain in the groin. All the pain from the back and loins has concentrated itself there. Farewell, my Lord. Greet my Lady.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto.

? 148–149 A.D.

To my master, greeting.

You tell me that you have pain in the groin, my master. Remembering what distress that pain generally causes you, I feel the most serious anxiety. But I comfort myself with the hope that in the interval required for bringing the news here, the intensity of the pain may have yielded to fomentations and remedies. We are still experiencing summer heat. But since our little girls²⁴¹ — we mustn't boast — are quite well, we think that we are enjoying the healthiest of weather and the balmy temperature of spring. Farewell, my best

of masters.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar.

? 148–149 A.D.

To my Lord.

I have been seized with very severe pains again in the other side of the groin.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto.

? 148–149 A.D.

Answer.

When you write thus to me, my master, you are aware, I am sure, that I am most anxious and offer up prayers for your health; of which, please heaven, we shall speedily be assured. Farewell, my most delightful of masters.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar.

? 148–149 A.D.

To my Lord.

Please acquaint your father with my illness. Tell me if you think I also should write to him.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto.

? 148–149 A.D.

Answer.

I will let my Lord know at once that your health necessitates this rest for you. But please write to him yourself as well. Farewell, my best and most delightful of masters.

? 148–149 A.D.

Fronto to Antoninus Pius Augustus.

More dearly than with a portion of my life would I bargain to embrace you on this most happy and wished-for anniversary of your accession,²⁴² a day which I count as the birthday of my own health, reputation, and safety. But severe pain in my shoulder, and much more severe in my neck, have so crippled me, that I am still scarcely able to bend, sit upright, or turn myself, so rigid must I keep my neck. But before my Lares, Penates, and household gods have I discharged and renewed my vows,²⁴³ and prayed that next year I might embrace you twice on this anniversary, twice kiss your neck and hands, fulfilling at once the office of the past and the present year.

Antoninus Pius to Fronto.

? 148–149 A.D.

Answer by Augustus.

As I have well ascertained the entire sincerity of your feelings towards me, so I find no difficulty, I assure you, my dearest Fronto, in believing that this day in particular, on which it was ordained for me to assume this station, is kept with true and scrupulous devotion by you above all others. And I indeed have with my mind's eye, as was right, pictured you and your vows

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar.

? 148–149 A.D.

To my Lord.

A happy New Year and a prosperous in all things that you rightly desire to you and our Lord your Father, and your mother and your wife and daughter,²⁴⁴ and to all others who deservedly share your affection — that is my prayer! In my still feeble state of health I was afraid to trust myself to the crowd and crush. I shall see you, please God, the day after to-morrow offering up your

vows. Farewell, my most sweet Lord. Greet my Lady.

? 148–149 A.D.

To my master, greeting.

May you also have entered upon a prosperous year, and may the Gods turn to your advantage, which will be ours also, every prayer of yours! May you pray, as you do, for the good of your friends and wish for the good of all others! Your prayers for me I know have been heartfelt. In fighting shy of the crowd, you have consulted both your safety and my anxiety. The ceremony will be repeated on a quieter scale the day after to-morrow, if the Gods will. Your Gratia has done your part for you. I do not know if she has greeted her Lady. Farewell, my sweetest of masters. My mother sends you her greeting.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto.

? 148–149 A.D.

To my master.

May you keep your birthday, my master, both sound in health now and strong in all years to come, happy, and with all your wishes granted; which yearly prayer of mine grows ever more comprehensive as my capacity for affection increases and the period of our most sweet intercourse lengthens! Farewell, my master most delightful to me. My mother greets you. Give Gratia a greeting and your little Gratia a kiss from me.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar.

? 148–149 A.D.

To my Lord.

All the blessings you have prayed for me are bound up with your welfare. Health of body and mind, happiness, prosperity, are all mine, as long as you enjoy a body, a mind, a reputation so hale and well, while you are so dear to your father, so sweet to your mother, so blameless a husband, so good and

kind a brother.²⁴⁵ It is this which makes me cling to life, in spite of my ill-health. Apart from you I have had enough and to spare of life and toil, of profession and fame, but of pains and infirmities something more than enough and to spare.

I gave my daughter the kiss you sent her: never has she seemed to me so kissing-ripe, never so kissed. Greet my Lady, my most sweet Lord. Farewell, and give your little matron²⁴⁶ a kiss from me.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar.

? 149–153 A.D.

To my Lord.

Saenius Pompeianus,²⁴⁷ whom I have defended in many cases, since he took up the contract for farming the taxes of Africa, is from many causes a stand-by in my affairs. I commend him to you that, when his accounts are scrutinised by our Lord your Father, you may be induced both by my recommendation and your own constant practice to extend to him that characteristic kindness, which you habitually show to all. Farewell, my sweetest Lord.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto.

? 149–153 A.D.

Answer.

Pompeianus has won my esteem also by the same deserts which have endeared him to you. So I desire that in accordance with the Lord my father's indulgent ways everything should second his wishes. For whatever falls out as you desire is a joy to me. Farewell, my most delightful of masters. Faustina and our little girls²⁴⁸ greet you.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto.

? 153–154 A.D.

To my master.

If in your province,²⁴⁹ my master, you come across a certain Themistocles, who says that he is known to Apollonius my teacher²⁵⁰ in philosophy, understand that he is a person who came to Rome this winter and was brought to my notice by Apollonius the son, at his father's request. May I ask you, my master, to befriend him, and advise him, as far as you can. For you will, I know, be always most ready to do what is just and proper by all Asians, but counsel and courtesy and all those personal civilities, which both honour and conscience pennit a proconsul to shew his friends, so long as no one else is injured thereby — these I ask you freely to extend to Themistocles. Farewell, my most delightful of masters. No answer is required.

? 153–154 A.D.

Fronto to Antoninus Pius Augustus.

1. The facts testify, most reverend Emperor, that I have spared no pains and earnestly desired to discharge the duties of proconsul. For as long as the matter was undecided, I claimed my rights under the lot and, when by virtue of having more children another proved to have the prior claim, I was as satisfied, as if I had chosen it, with that most splendid province which was left to me. Then I took active steps to enlist the help of my friends in all that concerned the ordering of the province. Relations and friends of mine, of whose loyalty and integrity I was assured, I called from home²⁵¹ to assist me. I wrote to my intimates at Alexandria²⁵² to repair with all speed to Athens and await me there, and I deputed the management of my Greek correspondence to those most learned men. From Cilicia too I called upon eminent citizens to join me, for, owing to my always having advocated the public and private interests of Cilicians before you, I had hosts of friends in that province. From Mauretania also I summoned to my side Julius Senex, a man whose love for me was no less than mine for him, that I might avail myself not only of his loyalty and diligence, but also of his military activity in the hunting down and suppressing of brigands.

2. All this I did buoyed up by the hope that by abstemiousness and water-drinking I might, if not wholly relieve the ill-health from which I suffered, yet at all events mitigate its attacks by postponing them for a longer period. The

result was that I had a lengthier spell of health than usual, and felt strong and vigorous, “so much so that I was able to appear before you on behalf of two of my friends in cases that entailed very considerable labour. Then I was assailed by so severe an attack of illness as shewed me that all my hopes had been illusory

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

? 153–154 A.D.

To my Lord.

This Aridelus, who is taking my letter to you, has attended to all my wants since I was a boy, from a passion for partridges to important duties. He is a freedman of yours; you will find him a diligent procurator, for he is honest, temperate, brisk, and industrious. He is now a candidate for a procuratorship²⁵³ in due form, being of suitable position and regulation age. Assist him, my Lord, with your interest, as far as may be. If you do not recognize his person, when you come to the name Aridelus, remember that Aridelus has been commended to you by me. Farewell, most sweet Lord. Greet your Lady.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

? 153–154 A.D.

To my Lord.

Whether the merit of the act set off the speech,²⁵⁴ or the speech did not fall short of a most noble act, I can hardly say: yet of this I am sure, that these words had the same author as those deeds. But your brother’s speech²⁵⁵ also delighted me, for it was polished and politic, and I feel sure he had very little time for preparing it.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

? 153–154 A.D.

Answer.

On my return from a banquet of my father's I got your letter, and learn that the messenger who brought it has already gone. So I am writing this quite late in the evening, that you may read it to-morrow. It is no matter of surprise, my master, that my father's speech should seem to you worthy of the occasion. But my brother's speech of thanks is in my opinion the more praiseworthy, in that, as you surmise, he had but little time to prepare it. Farewell, my most delightful of masters. My mother greets you.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

? 154–156 A.D.

To my Lord.

I have had such a choleraic attack²⁵⁶ that I lost my voice, gasped and struggled for breath; finally, my circulation failed and the pulse being imperceptible I became unconscious; in fact, I was given up by my family as dead and remained insensible for some time. The doctors were given no time or opportunity to revive or relieve me even with a warm bath or cold water or food, except that after nightfall I swallowed a few morsels of bread soaked in wine. Thus I was gradually brought quite round. For three whole days after I did not recover my voice. But now by God's help I am getting on very comfortably. I walk with more ease and my voice is stronger and more distinct; in fine, I purpose, please God, to take a drive to-morrow. If I find I can stand the flint paving well, I will hasten to you as fast as I can. Only when I see you shall I live. I will set out from Rome, please God, on the 7th day before the Kalends. Farewell, my Lord, most sweet, most missed, my best reason for living. Greet your Lady.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

? 154–156 A.D.

To my master, greeting.

After your absence I was longing to see you: what think you²⁵⁷ after your

danger? for your escape from which, my master, I thank the Gods a second time after reading your letter, which again, as it were, reassures me: it struck me with consternation when you gave me an account of your condition. But the Gods be thanked I have you still and, as you promise, shall see you again soon: and I have good hopes of your continued convalescence. My mother greets you. Farewell, my most delightful master.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

? 154–156 A.D.

To my Lord.

That you may keep many birthdays of your children with all happiness, the pride of your parents, the darling of the people, the beloved of your friends, worthy of your fortune, your lineage, and your station, gladly would I give my whole life, not that meagre portion of it only that now remains to me, but also what I have already lived, if in any way it could be restored to me entire, and expended as the repayment of a debt for the benefit of yourself and your children. If I could walk with comfort, this were the day on which I would wish among the first²⁵⁸ to embrace you; but I must, as you see, make my feet some concession, since they have not much procession in them. I am thinking of trying waters. If I come any nearer a decision, I will let you know. Farewell, my sweetest Lord. Give your Faustina a message from me and congratulate her²⁵⁹ and kiss our little ladies in my name and, as I always do, their feet and hands as well. Greet your Lady.²⁶⁰

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

? 154–156 A.D.

To my master, greeting.

May you be preserved to us! May your house be preserved, and ours! which, if you look at our feelings, is but one house. I know well you would have come to us, if you could have walked even with difficulty. But you will come often and join us, if the Gods will, in keeping all our fetes. Farewell, my

most delightful of masters. My mother greets you.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

? 154–156 A.D.

To my Lord.

While my attendants were carrying me here as usual from the baths in a sedan-chair, they dashed me somewhat carelessly against the scorching entrance to the bath. So my knee was both scraped and scorched: afterwards, too, a swelling came up on the sore place. The doctors advised my keeping in bed. Should you think fit, please also give my Lord your father this reason, but only if you think fit. To-morrow, too, I must support an intimate friend in court. So by to-day's idleness and rest I shall get myself ready for to-morrow's duties. Our Victorinus will do the pleading, for do not suppose that I shall plead. Farewell, sweetest of Lords. Greet my Lady.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

? 154–156 A.D.

To my master, greeting.

You have added to my anxieties, which I hope you will as soon as possible relieve by the subsidence of the pains in the knee and the swelling. As for me, my Lady mother's illness gives me no rest. There is, besides, the near approach of Faustina's lying-in. But we must have faith in the Gods. Farewell, my most delightful of masters. My mother greets you.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

? 154–156 A.D.

To my Lord.

The very day on which I proposed to start I felt a pain in my knee. I hope to be all right in a day or two. Farewell, my best of Lords. Greet my Lady.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

? 154–156 A.D.

To my master, greeting.

By this time, at all events, my master, I hope you can send better news, for your letter says that you were in pain up to the time when you wrote. I have dictated this, walking about. For the state of my wretched body requires that exercise just now. But I shall only feel the full benefit of the vintage season when we find your health beginning to mend. Farewell, my most delightful of masters.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

? 154–156 A.D.

To my Lord.

I am laid up with pain in the sole of my foot. That is why I have not paid you my respects these past days. Farewell, best of Lords. Greet my Lady.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

? 154–156 A.D.

To my master.

When you are well enough to walk comfortably, then we also shall be delighted to see you. May the Gods bring that about as soon as possible, and the pain in your foot be better. Farewell, my best of masters.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

? 154–156 A.D.

To my Lord.

I love you ten times as much — I have seen your daughter!²⁶¹ I seem to have seen you as well as Faustina in your infancy: so much that is good in both your faces is blended in hers. I love you ten times as much. Farewell, sweetest of Lords. Greet your Lady.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

? 154–156 A.D.

To my master.

We too love Gratia the more for her likeness to you.²⁶² So we can easily understand how our little girl's likeness to both of us endears her to you, and in every way it is a delight to me that you have seen her. Farewell, my best of masters.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

? 154–156 A.D.

To my Lord.

This is the third day that I have been troubled all night long with griping in the stomach and diarrhoea. Last night, indeed, I suffered so much that I have not been able to go out, but am keeping my bed. The doctors recommend a bath. I have prayed the Gods to give you many happy returns of the day.²⁶³ Farewell, my Lord. Greet your Lady.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

? 154–156 A.D.

To my master.

You also know, my master, what I on my part wish: that you should be hale and strong henceforth, and keep this your solemn day²⁶⁴ and all future ones for as many years as possible either with us or, at all events, without giving us any anxiety on your behalf. Of course, I guessed at once that there was some

reason of this kind for our not seeing you. And I must confess that I am thankful that the cause was such a complaint of your body rather than some other pains. Besides I have great hopes of that flux, for though it prostrate you for the time, yet I trust, if the Gods will, that your bowels have naturally and to the good of your health felt the motions of the spring, while others contrive and bring this about by design. Farewell, my most delightful of masters. My mother greets you.

Fronto to Marcus as Caesar

? 154–156 A.D.

To my Lord.

I have a wretched sore throat, which also made me feverish all the night. My knee pains me a little. Farewell, my Lord. Greet your Lady.

Marcus Aurelius to Fronto

? 154–156 A.D.

To my master.

I now learn what I wished first and foremost to hear. I gather from your letter that the feverishness has gone. Now, my master, as for the sore throat, it will be got rid of by a little abstinence, and we shall soon have better news from you. Farewell, my most delightful of masters. My mother²⁶⁵ greets you.

? 154–156 A.D.

Fronto to Antoninus Pius Augustus.

1. If it could be brought about, Imperator, that our friends and relations should in all cases act by our principles of conduct, there is nothing I should desire more; next I would have them follow, if not our principles yet at least our advice on every occasion. But since each man's own character governs his life, I can only confess that I am sorry my friend Niger Censorius²⁶⁶ used such intemperate language in his will, in which he made me his heir. If I claimed to

clear him by justifying his action, I should be unprincipled; I should be disloyal to my friend if I did not at least say what I could in his excuse.

2. It cannot be denied that Niger Censorius was unrestrained and ill-advised in his language, but at the same time in many respects he was an honest man and manly and blameless. It will accord with your clemency, Emperor, if you set his other creditable actions against his solitary misconduct in word.

3. When I first came to be his friend, his strenuous achievements, civil and military, had already won him the love of others. Not to mention his other friends, he was on the most intimate terms with Marcius Turbo²⁶⁷ and Erucius Clarus,²⁶⁸ who were both eminent men in the first rank, the one of the Knights, the other of the Senators. Subsequently, however, a great accession of honours and authority accrued to him from your courts²⁶⁹ also. Such was the man whose friendship I coveted.

4. Possibly some might say that I ought to have given up my friendship with him when I realized that he was not held by you in the same favour as before. But, Emperor, I was never of such a spirit as to cast off a friendship formed in prosperity as soon as a whisper of adversity was audible. And in any case — for why should I not say what is in my mind? — I shall hold as an enemy one who bears you no love, but one for whom you have but little love I shall count as an unfortunate rather than as an enemy There is a very great difference between blaming a man and hating him was in want of friends and advice. And would that Niger, as in most things subsequently he was guided by me, so had asked my advice in drawing up his will! Never would he have seared his memory with such a stain by reckless words that injured himself more than anyone else.

5. Nor would an interval have intervened a man at the very time of his offence. But he offends from very love, just as most animals that lack skill and perseverance in maternal duties injure their eggs and their young with talons or teeth, maltreating them not from malice but from want of experience in nursing.

6. I at least call to witness the Gods above and the Gods below and the hidden loyalties of human friendship, that I have ever been the author
.....
..... Nor has he been

influenced by kindness so great and benefits so many whenever
. he has his own end. But let us always strive for those things, which we have
neither been willing to pass over in silence nor think it right to deny, and such
things, if the Gods are just, as are true and in accord with the straightforward
nature of our friendship.

? 154–156 A.D.

Fronto to Gavius Maximus.²⁷⁰

. Grief added to anger upset the man's mental balance . . . Anger
poisoned and ruined his other virtues . . . But let no one find fault with my
love for Niger, who is not prepared to blame yours first. Lastly, I did not begin
to love Niger on your account, that I should on your account cease to love
him; nor did you begin to have a liking for me through Niger's introduction.
Wherefore, I beseech you, let not a friendship now be a hindrance which was
never a help to us. Now, if I must say so, let the Gods witness that I have often
seen Niger Censorius weeping copiously for want of you and for distress at
this dissension.

But perhaps I shall have another opportunity of mollifying you and
reconciling you to his memory. Meanwhile, lest your ears be open to any
attacks by ill-disposed persons on me, I pledge to you my lasting loyalty,
which, as I kept it truly and faithfully with Censorius, much more assuredly
shall I strive to preserve lasting and unimpaired with you.

Fronto to Marcus.

? 154–156 A.D.

To my Lord Caesar.

Niger Censorius is dead, leaving me heir to five-twelfths of his estate by a
will in all other respects unexceptionable but, as far as its language is
concerned, ill-advised, since in this he followed the dictates of anger rather
than consulted his self-respect. For he inveighed in unmeasured terms against
Gavius Maximus, a man of senatorial rank and entitled to my regard.

In consequence I have thought it necessary to write to our Lord your Father

and to Gavius Maximus himself letters of a very difficult tenor. For, whereas I could not but find fault with the action of my friend Niger, which I myself disapproved of, I wished at the same time, as was right, not to fail in my duty as friend and heir. I was anxious that you should know of this, as of all else that concerns me, and, by heaven, I began a lengthy letter to you on this subject; but on thinking everything over I decided not to importune you or call you away from more important business.

? 157–161 A.D.

Fronto to Antoninus Pius Augustus.

1 The modesty of my friends has ensured that I should make no unworthy request for them you have at my request enhanced the dignity of one Roman knight, Sextius Calpurnius, who lived with me,²⁷¹ by the grant of two procuratorships already. I count these two procuratorships as favours four times given: twice when you granted them, and twice when you permitted them to be declined.

2. For two years now I have been your suppliant for my friend Appianus,²⁷² between whom and myself there has been both a long-standing intimacy and almost daily practice of mutual studies. Moreover, I feel certain and would be bold to affirm, that he will shew the same modesty that my friend Calpurnius Julianus has. For it is to enhance his dignity in old age that he desires to attain this distinction, and not from ambition or coveting the salary of a procurator. When I first made request for Appianus, you gave my petition so kindly a hearing that I had a right to hope.

When I renewed my request the next, which was last, year, your answer contained much that was gracious, one thing even in a vein of pleasantry, that the moment you gave Appianus the procuratorship at my request, a flood of pleaders would gush forth asking a like favour. You remember too the native of Greece whom you graciously and smilingly mentioned. But the cases are far from parallel: there is age, there is childlessness, which calls for consolations to relieve it. I would make bold to add that, though both are good men, yet in worth and integrity one has some advantage over the other; and I may say this the more freely, in that I have not named him whom I put second to my friend.

3. Lastly I will say, as I am prompted to do by plain dealing and truth as well as by the assurance of my love towards you, that surely it is fairer that the other²⁷³ too should gain his wish on my account. Remember too, my Lord Emperor, when he follows my example in petitioning, that I have petitioned these two years. Then let him too, if so it please you, be gratified after two years. He will but be following my example, if he also then get permission to be excused.²⁷⁴

From Appianus to Fronto.²⁷⁵

? 157–161 A.D.

1. I could not see you to-day either, as owing to gastric trouble last night I have only just got up. What I was puzzling over in my wakeful hours I am not keeping back or putting off, but have written you a few out of my many thoughts. And you, if they are just, give ear and assent to them as just; if they are pedantic, as sincere; but in any case do so to me, as aggrieved and a suppliant.

2. It is but natural that the individual should take pattern by the community. At any rate we direct our private affairs on the lines of public ones and the law bids us do this. How is it then, that states do not shrink from receiving from the donors, native and alien, offerings and property and money itself, and in some cases even a free gift of their persons, but a friend shrinks from receiving a gift from a friend when he entreats it? And the Gods too by the law of cities accept these gifts from men, as the treasuries of the Gods testify. Aye friends too do not shrink from taking under wills. And why, pray, should a man take under a will, but take nothing from the living, when the latter gift is an even greater proof of affection. For the testator prefers one man to another, but the living donor prefers his friend to himself. And it is sweeter to receive a gift from the living, because it is possible both to acknowledge it to a living person and to make a return. Again a trifling gift²⁷⁶ is not made to Gods or cities, but nobler things are always for the more noble.

3. But, you will say, does not their acceptance bring a heavier obligation? Why, what can be a heavier one than friendship and honour, than which things there is perhaps nothing better? And what was there here even heavy at all, or

what should I count heavy? I would not traffic in anything nor buy anything, that necessitated an equivalent return passing, as they say, from house to house. Consider this point also, what pleasure acceptance gives the sender, and what mortification follows upon non-acceptance even after many days to come to you. Pray believe that the law of Gods and cities and friends is a just one but as friends do not parade such a forwardness of goodwill but from diffidence conceal it, I send before you give permission. Do not you send back my gift a second time, as you ought not to have done even the first time.

To Appian from Fronto.

? 157–161 A.D.

1. Even he would have no lack of plausible arguments who, in answer to the first of the propositions submitted by you, should object that private conduct ought not to conform to that of states. For we shall find many customs and usages publicly established in cities and privately practised by individuals to be dissimilar. You can easily convince yourself of this by looking at the litigation and disputes between public bodies and individuals, wherein neither the venue of the court nor the number of the judges nor the order of the pleas and summonses nor the allowance of time for the speakers nor the penalties of conviction are the same, but there is every difference between the public cases and the private. Again the gates of a city must be opened wide for any to enter at will and, when he will, to go out. But for each one of us as individuals, if his doorkeeper guard not his door and be ever on the watch, debarring from ingress those who have no business there, but on the other hand permitting the inmates to go out freely whenever they wish, the safeguarding of the house could not be properly effected. So also porticoes and groves and altars and gymnasias, and baths, if public ones, are thrown open free to all, but if private, are kept under strong lock and key with a doorkeeper to boot, and a fee is exacted from the bathers. Nor yet are banquets in private houses and in the Town-Hall the same; nor a horse if it belong to a private person or to the state; nor the purple robe of the magistrate and of the townsman; nor the garland of home-grown roses and the wreath of olive at

Olympia.

2. At the same time I think that I will waive this and concede to you that private conduct must needs conform to public. But conceding this, I would not go further and concede what you would fain persuade me of, that *I* must conform to it. I will explain what I mean. The point in dispute between us, I take it, was this, whether one ought to accept great and valuable gifts from friends. Justifying this, you pointed to the example of cities accepting great gifts one from another, taking for granted, my dear friend, the very point in dispute. For alleging as I do that individuals ought not to take great gifts from one another, I would say exactly the same of cities, that they ought not to take them either; but you, begging the question that this is right for cities, adduce it as a proof of what is right for individuals. You must admit that one ought not to prove the question at issue by means of the very points in dispute. But if you say that many states accept such gifts, I will answer that many individuals also accept them, but that the question is whether it is right and fit that they should accept them. And this question beginning with individuals extends to cities also. This point, therefore, I mean the action of cities, you must in all fairness leave on one side, as part of the question in dispute. For I take it you are not unaware that the majority of the most famous and well-ordered cities have never accepted great gifts; as, for example, the City of Rome has rejected many such many a time from very many senders, but Athens exacting heavier gifts than befitted was not at all benefited thereby.

3. As to your example from the Gods, that they receive gifts and offerings, which you touched on quite briefly, I will endeavour to dismiss it no less shortly. As I am neither God nor the Persian King, it was not fitting even to pay me homage.

4. The most plausible argument you brought forward, by heaven, was the one from wills — why is it that, when we take even large bequests under wills, we should not accept such from the living? The reason is suggested already by yourself. For those who benefit their friends in their wills prefer, as you say, one legatee to another: from them I admit that it is right to take. The living on the other hand prefer, as you say, the friends whom they benefit to themselves. For this very reason I say that what is offered should not be accepted. For it is in reality no light thing and savours, to tell the truth, of arrogance and tyranny to receive such marks of preference, wherein he, that

does another honour, manifestly does himself dishonour, and sets him whom he has honoured above himself. For I would not even mount a horse, if the rider dismounting and going on foot asked me to ride; nor would I sit down in a theatre, if another gave up his seat to me; nor in wintry weather accept a man's cloak, if by stripping himself and shivering he kept me warmly wrapped. For each man is his own nearer concern and more deserving of honour at his own hands.

5. You say that trifling gifts are not sent to the Gods. What, are not these trifling gifts — the little barley-cakes and the honey and the libation-wine and the milk and the organs of the victims? Aye, and the frankincense is a trifling gift to a God.

6. So much for the propositions so cleverly and plausibly urged by you touching things public and things divine and touching wills. But for myself let me briefly say this: whatever it is shameless and greedy and covetous to ask for, it is no less characteristic of the shameless, the greedy, and the covetous man to accept even from a voluntary giver. To ask for big gifts is shameless, far more to accept them. And it is all one whether we take from a willing or a reluctant giver; for it is not right to ask, but it is not right to take either. Nor should a man accept such gifts as shall leave the sender poorer and render the receiver richer. And great gifts involve both these results. At any rate in the case of a property valuation, you who sent these two slaves would declare your property as less and I who received them as more. For the item of these two slaves is no negligible one, either in valuation of goods or in exchange of properties²⁷⁷ or in assessment for taxation or in payment of tribute.

7. He that sends too heavy a gift offends no less than he who sends his fellow ball-player too heavy a return or toasts his fellow guest with a big cup. For he would seem to toast him for debauch not for delight. But just as in temperate banquets we see the wine mixed in the proportion of a great deal of water to quite a little wine, so should gifts be a blend of much loving-kindness and very little outlay. For whom can we say that costly gifts befit? The poor? But they cannot send them. The rich? But they do not need them. Moreover, great gifts cannot be given continuously; or, if a man send great gifts and often, he must come to the end of his resources. But small gifts admit of being given continuously and with no compunction, since a man need make but a small acknowledgment to one who has sent a small gift.

8. This too you would confess, that a man acts unjustly, if he so acquire praise for himself as to rob another of his. But you in sending great gifts acquire to yourself praise for large-hearted generosity, but you rob me of praise by constraining me to accept favours. For I too might shew large-heartedness by refusing to accept such. But in small gifts the apportionment of praise is equal, in that the sender did not neglect to send, and the recipient did not disdain, the gift. But I would ask, pressing you perhaps rather hard, how can I receive with delight the slaves sent from you, whereas you would not have accepted an identical present, had I sent it? It would have been Glaucus²⁷⁸ of old over again “exchanging gold for bronze and a hundred oxen’s worth for that of nine.” For it is inevitable that the exchanger of presents should either send in return gifts of much greater value and, as Homer testifies, seem bereft of his senses by Zeus, or act inequitably by sending a meaner gift in return. The third and most equitable rule is to requite what is sent according to the same measure and with equal gifts.²⁷⁹ He that did this would be as like as possible to me, for I am sending back the very things that were sent.

But enough of this pleasantry from a friend to a very dear friend. The cost of the keep of these slaves will now, if you calculate it, give you a little the best of the bargain

? 157–161 A.D.

Fronto to Lollianus Avitus,²⁸⁰ greeting.

Licinius Montanus— “so may I have you safe back in my arms,” and this is an oath which equally involves my weal and yours — is one whom I love so dearly that there is no one of those, who have shared my home with me, whom I could easily prefer to my Montanus. As often as he came to Rome he was my guest, my house was at his disposal, he always shared my table; in fact there was between us a community and fellowship in almost all our acts and counsels. Please pay him such attention as you would expect to be shewn by another to your intimate friend, the sharer of your home and your counsels. My Montanus is devoted to all letters and noble accomplishments, besides being a man of learning and cultured eloquence. Although I feel that I am biased in favour of my own craft, because he has himself preferred nothing to

the study of eloquence With me eloquence holds the most honoured place From your utmost stores of good-nature grant He has asked nothing, as was to be expected of his modesty, except what is right and honourable for you to give and for him to ask Worthy, upright, rich in natural affection,²⁸¹ a quality for which the Romans have no word He indeed asks for a health resort on the coast, and lastly those reasonable adjuncts. Consequently it is not the sea but the air that he is desirous of The most eloquent of all, such is your nobleness I hear that some speak captiously of his having been torn away with grief and reluctance from my home-circle, because seized as he was with an affection of the chest, there seemed a real possibility that the extreme salubrity of the climate would enable him to return from his native city Cirta. Pray that it may be so. Since I love him for my part as I do very few, please use him as one who is dear to me, welcome him when he comes and win his love with your gracious care for him and give him the best of help with friendly counsel. Afterwards I desire you often to test the health and condition of your guest

? 157–161 A.D.

Fronto to Cornelius Repentinus,²⁸² greeting.

You have acted, brother Contuccius, according to your never-failing habit and kindness in so effectually safeguarding the good name of Fabianus, a man of tried experience in civil duties, constant in attendance at the forum, and my close friend. May the immortal Gods ensure to you with all happiness a recompense equal to your kindness nor will you soon find (such among) the nobles: hold rather that they were full of sufficiently undisguised hatred

? 157–161 A.D.

Fronto to Claudius Severus,²⁸³ greeting.

1. The custom of recommendation is said in the first instance to have sprung from good will, when every man wished to have his own friend made known to another friend and rendered intimate with him. Then the custom

gradually grew up of giving such recommendations in the case of those persons even who were parties to a public or private trial, provided however that the case was not a flagrant one, to the actual judges or their assessors on the bench: not, I take it, to undermine the fairness of the judge or to lead him aside from giving true judgment. But as there had long established itself in the very courts of law this custom of bringing forward, when the case had been heard out, witnesses to character to give in all honesty their own private opinion of the defendant, so these commendatory letters seemed to discharge the function of a testimony to character.

2. Wherefore this preface going back so far? That you may not think that I have had but scant regard for your dignity and authority in recommending Sulpicius Cornelianus,²⁸⁴ a most intimate friend of mine, who is very shortly to plead his case before you. But as I have said, following a long-established precedent, I venture to speak in praise of my friend before you.

3. The man is hard-working, energetic, of a free and free-handed nature, a true patriot, relying on his innocence rather than presuming on it, to me a most congenial friend from his devotion to literature and his taste in the liberal arts
.....

4 Nor did this close relationship between us arise casually or by chance, and I am free to confess that I did not go out of my way to seek the friendship of Cornelianus. I had already heard his character spoken of with praise, and that it was a true report which reached my ears I have learnt by experience and verified with many proofs. We have lived together, studied together, shared alike in things grave and gay, put our loyalty and our counsels to the proof. In every way our friendship has conduced to our pleasure and our profit. Wherefore I appeal to you as earnestly as I can to give this very dear friend of mine a favourable hearing in his case summoned for trial a member of our order. But the notes of the *Consilium*²⁸⁵ being read
..... tried to rebut it. Anxiety for my friend (makes) me commend him at such length: but our friendship is a guarantee of your loyal love for me and (will bring it about that), whatever I ask, a whole speech should seem to you but one word.

Delight in the character and eloquence of the man first made me love Sulpicius Cornelianus. For he has the greatest aptitude for eloquence; and I will not deny that the friendship which is grounded on culture takes the highest place with me, and the culture I mean here is that of the orator. For this seems to me to be human; as for Philosophy's, let it be divine. Do your utmost then for Cornelianus, who is a good man and a friend of mine and eloquent and no philosopher.

? 157–161 A.D.

To Aegrilius Plarianus, greeting.

I commend to you with all possible cordiality Julius Aquilinus,²⁸⁶ a man, if you have any faith in my judgment, most learned, most eloquent, exceptionally trained by the teachings of philosophy to the noblest accomplishments and by the study of eloquence to a matchless facility of speech. A man so learned and so cultured should naturally find from a man of your serious character and wisdom not only protection but advancement and honour. Aquilinus is also, believe me, a man of such a character that he deserves to be accounted an ornament to yourself no less than to me. You will not doubt that it is as I say, if you once deign to hear him discuss the doctrines of Plato. With your perspicacity and good sense you will find him not unequal to his high fame, most conspicuous for the magnificence²⁸⁷ of his language and the immense abundance of his thoughts. When you have realized the truth of this, know that there is still more behind in the man's character, so great are his integrity and his modesty. Crowds of people constantly gathered to hear him at Rome. There are numbers of senators who not only applaud his eloquence, but also admire his He was obliged to leave Rome by the necessary duty of comforting his lady cousin, who is suffering under a great misfortune. Any attention you pay to Aquilinus please consider as paid to me.

? 157–161 A.D.

Fronto to Claudius Julianus, greeting.

We could assuredly wish, my dearest Naucellius,²⁸⁸ it had been our happy fortune that, if I had had any children also of the male sex and these were of an age for the discharge of military duties at this particular time, when you are administering a province with an army, my children should serve under you. This that each of us would desire will almost be fulfilled. For I love Faustinianus, the son of my friend Statianus, not less, and I desire him to be loved no less, than if he came from my own loins. He is now to serve under you. Any attention you shew him will be paid with interest. However much distinction Faustinianus gains by your goodwill, the pleasure you derive from his refined nature will be no less. His learning you may trust me for; his military ability is vouched for by all those under whom he has served. But he will not think that he has reaped the full fruit of his learning and industry until he has earned your approbation. Try him in military duties, try him in legal consultations, try him in letters, in a word, in everything that requires judgment and ability, whether grave or gay, you will find him always and everywhere equal to himself. As to that eminent man, his father, did you not know him for yourself, I could not praise him highly enough. Nor could I escape having said a great deal too little, though I said ever so much. Verily I should love the son of my Statianus, whatever he were, just as by heaven I should hold dear the father of my Faustinianus, whatever he were. Now, however, I do not know which of the two endears me more to the other, save that I love each of them more dearly, the one for the sake of the other.

Fronto to the Triumvirs and Senators of Cirta²⁸⁹

? 157–161 A.D.

How great are my cares . . . and I should much prefer the guardianship of our native country to be strengthened than my own interests. Wherefore my advice to you is to choose for your patrons, and send resolutions to that effect to, those who at present stand highest at the bar — Aufidius Victorinus, whom you will have on your burgess-roll if the Gods favour my designs, for I have betrothed my daughter²⁹⁰ to him, nor could I have better consulted the interests either of myself in the matter of posterity or of my daughter in the matter of her whole life, than when I chose such a son-in-law, a man of such

character and great eloquence; Servilius Silanus also, an excellent and most eloquent man, you will have as your patron by burgess right, since he comes from the neighbouring and friendly state of Hippo Regius²⁹¹ ; Postumius Festus²⁹² you cannot do wrong in electing as your patron in consideration of his character and eloquence, himself also a native of our province and of no distant state. Of these no ordinary patrons as long as my strength and health were sound, our business that our city has been established by the help of practised speakers and men in the prime of life we should have a well-known man and a consular to be responsible for our public interests. I too, as I hope, while young and strong, played no obscure part in civil affairs. There are many other natives of Cirta also in the Senate, entitled to be called most eminent.²⁹³ The last honour is the greatest, three of your citizens but it is better for you now sometimes

Lucius Verus to Fronto

161 A.D.

To my master.

I have a serious complaint to make against you, my master, and yet that is not so great as my disappointment, that after so long a separation I did not embrace or speak to you, though you both came to the Palace and came when I had only just left the Lord my brother. You may be sure I gave my brother a good scolding for not calling me back; and he could not deny that he was to blame. How easy, prithee, it would have been to let me know beforehand that you were coming to see my brother, and would like to see me as well, or failing that, to have asked me to return, that we might have a talk. What? if you sent for me to-day to your house, should I not put everything aside and run to you? Indeed, I have been very cross that I could not visit you every day. Nay, I think it is the heaviest penalty of our position that I so seldom have an opportunity of coming to you . . . alone . . . I should have run to you. Now at least I beseech you, as I have no leisure yet to hasten to you, write and tell me how you are: affairs of state, however pressing, shall not long prevent me from seeing you again or expecting you . . . Farewell, my master, to your

Verus most dear and most kind.

Fronto to Lucius Verus as Emperor

161 A.D.

To my Lord Verus Augustus.²⁹⁴

1. That it was no fault of mine that I did not see you yesterday, when I came to the Palace to see you both, I will presently shew. But had I myself deliberately from choice left this duty unpaid, I should not in the least regret it. For this, this was the cause of your reproaching me in such a friendly letter. Nor should I be so greatly pleased, had I come to you and been welcomed by you with every honour, as I am now that you felt my absence enough to give me such a scolding. For while with your characteristic kindness you give all members of our order, when they present themselves, an honourable welcome, yet it is not all of them about whom you make earnest enquiries when they are absent. In fact this is the cause of my fault, inasmuch as I should prefer you to be seriously angry with me than too ready to pardon. For your anger is the measure of your regret. But those from whom you are estranged you will neither be angry with nor miss, if you have ceased to love them. For indeed, since you and your brother, set in so great a station, surrounded by so great a multitude of all sorts and conditions of men, on whom you lavish your love, bestow on me too some portion of that love, what ought I to do, whose hopes and fortunes all on you alone are centred?²⁹⁵ . . . or that I shall be able to . . . those who are preferred to me than that I should prefer you to them. For thus I should assuredly deserve that you also should prefer them to me.

2. But not to defer my defence any longer, it was, as I said, no fault of mine that I did not meet you. For I returned from my gardens to Rome on March 28th at dawn, in order that I might if possible after so long an interval reach home that very day. But when I had come there, it seemed better . . . verily I should hasten to do what? To ask *Is all well?* to embrace? to kiss? to have a talk? Or was it that after four months I should come to look on your tears and exhibit my own? What then did I do the next day? I did not venture to write either to your brother or to you, that I would come to you, but I wrote to your freedman Charilas to the best of my recollection in these words: *Is it*

convenient for me to come to them to-day? Please tell me as a man of sense and a friend of mine when I went into the palace your occupations under the new circumstances

Marcus Antoninus as Emperor to Fronto

161 A.D.

To my master.

. I have read a little of Coelius and of Cicero's speech, but as it were by stealth, certainly by snatches, so closely does one care tread on the heels of another, my one relaxation the while being to take up a book. For our little daughters are at present lodging with Matidia²⁹⁶ in the town, so that they cannot come to me in the evening owing to the keenness of the air. Farewell, my best of masters. The Lord my brother and my daughters²⁹⁷ with their mother, whose send you their affectionate greetings.

Send me something to read which you think particularly eloquent, either of your own or Cato's or Cicero's or Sallust's or Gracchus's or some poet's, for I need relaxation, and especially of such a kind that the reading of it may uplift me and shake me free from the cares that beset me; also if you have any extracts from Lucretius or Ennius, sonorous lines if possible, and any that give the impress of character.

Fronto to Marcus Antoninus

161 A.D.

Fronto to my Lord Antoninus Augustus.

Verily, since the creation of mankind and their endowment with speech let me be held the most eloquent of all men, since you, Marcus Aurelius, study my writings and esteem them, and do not think it useless or unprofitable to yourself in the midst of such great affairs to spend your valuable time in reading my speeches.

But if it is your love for me which makes you delight even in my abilities,

most blest am I in that I am so dear to you as to seem even eloquent in your | eyes; or if it is your real judgment and considered opinion that makes you so think, then shall I have every right to seem eloquent to myself since I seem so to you.

I am, however, not in the least surprised that you have found pleasure in reading the praises of your father, which I uttered in the Senate when consul designate and again when I had taken up the office.²⁹⁸ For you would listen even to the Parthians and Iberians in their own tongue, so they but praised your father, as if they were most consummate orators. It was not my speech you admired but your father's virtues,²⁹⁹ nor was it the words of the praiser but the deeds of the praised that you praised.

As to my praises of yourself, which I pronounced the same day in the Senate, I would have you look on them in this light, that you then shewed rare I natural ability, but now a consummate excellence; that you were then as corn sprouting in a field, but are now as the harvest fully ripe and gathered in the | garner. All was hope then, all is having now. Hope has turned to reality.

What you asked me, however, to send you, on receiving your letter
. . . men of Attica hard by chewing the cud of their native herbs and the wild thyme of Hymettus You could pluck either weighty thoughts from the speeches of the ancients or sweet thoughts from their poems, or splendid thoughts from history, or kindly ones from comedies, or courtly ones from the national drama, or witty and humorous ones from the Atellane farces

Lucius Verus to Fronto

161 A.D.

To my master.

. . . . My friend, I mean Calpurnius, and I are having a dispute, but I shall easily confute him in the presence of all, and with you, too, if you are present, as a witness, that Pylades is superior to his master,³⁰⁰ just inasmuch as he is more like Apolaustus.³⁰¹ But to speak seriously, tell your Valerius Antonius to hand me the petition, that by our reply, also, the favour of our verdict may take effect. I read your letter with the greatest pleasure and with my usual admiration. Farewell, my master, to your Verus sweetest and dearest.

? 161 A.D.

(? To my Lord.)

. . . . to enquire whether he could see me; when I answered that he could, he procured our friend Tranquillus³⁰² as his substitute, whom he had also procured as his substitute at dinner. It makes little difference to me, who of the friends you hold dear has an affection for me, except that I take prior account of him who is less disdainful of my friends. I for he also saw him at once. Tranquillus however found me, when he had a cold, still forbidding but less (positively the use of) grapes such great would arise. How much do I owe to the diligence of Tranquillus, who would never have offered himself for this business, did he not know how much you loved me.

Fronto to Volumnius Quadratus.

161 A.D.

I will, as you wish, keep your secret. I will gladly read it and correct it in my usual way as far as my hands, which are quite crippled, will permit. Continue in the cultivation of your studies according to your wish, and utilize any spare time you have in practising your talents.

Fronto to Volumnius Quadratus.

161 A.D.

Our friend Castricius handed me your letter yesterday as I was leaving the baths, and I asked him to come to me for an answer in the morning. During the night I suffered so much from cough and sleeplessness that I was obliged to stay in bed till 11 o'clock. That accounts for my keeping our friend Castricius back. You shall have the books of Cicero corrected and punctuated. Those which I have annotated please keep for your own eye. I will write to you more carefully the reasons why I do not wish them to become public property.

Fronto to Volumnius Quadratus.

161 A.D.

I will gladly, my son, read your speech, which you have sent me, and correct anything that seems to require it, but by the hand of my secretary, for my own hand is useless from severe pain. In spite of the pain, however, I have been carried to the circus. For I am again seized with a passion for the games . . . be badly composed and wholly in rhetorical style.

ENDNOTES

¹ Certainly an early letter, possibly the earliest preserved (see § 4). In a subsequent letter to Marcus, as Emperor, it seems to be referred to as *prima ilia lougiuscula epistula* (see Ad Ant. i. 2). Marcus became consul in 140, and this fact could scarcely have been ignored in § 6.

² The Latin phrase *verba dare alicui* means “to use mere words to a person,” i.e. to deceive him. It is difficult to reproduce the subtle play on the words.

³ i.e. “to rinse the mouth.”

⁴ i.e. “to swab the flagged floor in the baths.”

⁵ “To bathe the cheeks in tears.”

⁶ “To wash clothes.”

⁷ “To wash off sweat and dust.”

⁸ “To scour out.”

⁹ “To water mead.”

¹⁰ “To gargle the throat.”

¹¹ “To scrub out a horse’s frog.”

¹² As it happens, it might mean one or two other things in English.

¹³ Used in the sense of *supprimo*, “checked.”

¹⁴ *cp.* below, Ad Caes. ii. 5, Ad Ant. i. 2, *ad med.*

¹⁵ Marcus (see *Thoughts*, iii. 14) possibly wrote some sort of *History of the Greeks and Romans*, which Nicephorus Callistus (iii. 31) may perhaps refer to. But Marcus in his *Thoughts*, i. 17 *ad fin.*, disclaims the study of histories.

¹⁶ Gratia was Fronto’s wife. He had also a daughter Gratia, who was married about 160, and so probably born between 140 and 145.

¹⁷ Domitia Lucilla, the widow of Annius Verus. The adopted mother of Marcus, the elder

Faustina, wife of Pius, died between July 140 and July 141.

¹⁸ The second of these must be the preceding letter. The other may possibly be the first letter given above.

¹⁹ His other pupil, Lucius Verus, also pays Fronto this compliment (Ad Ver. ii. 2). But Marcus, in his tribute to Fronto in his Thoughts (i. 11), omits all mention of it.

²⁰ This title can stand for the mother of Marcus as it does in the previous letter, or for Faustina the elder, his adopted mother, or, after his marriage in 145, for his wife Faustina the younger.

²¹ A proverb for unflinching justice or determination.

²² The Discourse on Love which follows.

²³ The speech of thanks to Pius in the Senate for being given the title of Caesar in the year 139 is probably meant.

²⁴ cp. Hor. Ars Poet. 441.

²⁵ Possibly Lorium, twelve miles from Rome, where Pius had a villa.

²⁶ If the preceding sentence can be taken to imply that his mother Lucilla was away, this must refer to Faustina the elder, wife of Pius.

²⁷ This is the piece referred to in the previous letter.

²⁸ He is alluding to the speeches of Lysias and Socrates in Plato's Phaedrus. Philostratus (Ep. 6) sums up the opinions expressed in them thus: τὸ μὲν μὴ ἐρῶντι χαρίζεσθαι, Λυσίου δόξα • τῷ δὲ ἐρῶντι, δοκεῖ Πλάτωνι.

²⁹ As your relations with him imply.

³⁰ καλός was the recognised tribute to the victorious boy-athlete, and is constantly so used on vases. See also Aristoph. Vespa, 199.

³¹ cp. Lucian, De Saltat. 16: τοὺς ἐξαγορεύοντας τὰ μυστήρια ἐξορχεῖσθαι λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοί.

³² Possibly the sunflower (Girasole), or marigold; see Shaks. Sonnets, xxv. 6.

³³ Orator and master seem both to refer to Fronto. We do not know what he may have said

about Lais.

³⁴ Referring to a letter not preserved.

³⁵ Off Naples. It is mentioned in connection with Marius by Plutarch.

³⁶ Probably the mother of Marcus, to whom Fronto sends a greeting in the next letter.

³⁷ His adopted father, the emperor Antoninus Pius.

³⁸ For the honour of being made “Caesar” in 139. It could no doubt refer to the Consulship in 145, or the Tribunicia Potestas in 147; but these dates are too late.

³⁹ Marcus painted this portrait with a loving hand in his *Thoughts*, i. 6, vi. 30.

⁴⁰ There were two rhetoricians of this name, one of Byzantium, the other of Gadara. The latter is probably meant.

⁴¹ We have more on the subject in a letter to Marcus’s mother (*Epist. Graec.* 1).

⁴² The best of such nugalia that we possess is Lucian’s on the Fly. Dio wrote one on the Gnat, and even Plato on Fever. There were others on Gout, Blindness, Deafness, and Baldness. cp. also Augustine, *De Vera Relig.* lxxvii., who says that some had written the praises of ashes and dung verissime atque uberrime.

⁴³ Horace, *Od.* i. 2, 31

⁴⁴ Homer, *Il.* xiv. 350.

⁴⁵ A philosopher and rhetorician of Arles, a friend of the emperor Hadrian and of Herodes Atticus and Fronto.

⁴⁶ Especially worshipped by Pius and Marcus.

⁴⁷ These words point to an early letter.

⁴⁸ cp. *Thoughts*, viii. 30, and below, *Ad Ant.* i. 1.

⁴⁹ This would seem to be an early letter, in spite of its position in the Codex.

⁵⁰ On the coast of Etruria (now Civita Vecchia), 47 miles from Rome. Pius inherited the magnificent villa built there by Trajan.

⁵¹ i.e. for the purpose of writing or study.

⁵² Possibly Fronto had brought Marcus some books from Rome.

⁵³ Centumcellae.

⁵⁴ Fronto follows Herodotus, as Gellius also professes to do. Fronto probably intended this piece to be a model of narrative style for his pupil. It seems to be of the matter-of-fact style (*siccum genus*) for which Fronto was celebrated.

⁵⁵ Or possibly “love of his art.”

⁵⁶ This and the next four letters refer to a trial at Rome, in which the famous Greek rhetorician, Herodes Atticus, one of Marcus’s teachers and his friend, was accused by the Athenians of various crimes. Their principal spokesman was Demostratus, who is mentioned again, *Ad Ver.* ii. 9. Of the circumstances we only know what the Letters tell us. But a very similar accusation was brought against him nearly thirty years later (see Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* p. 242, Kayser). Herodes must have been honourably acquitted on the present occasion, as he was made consul in 143. The trial, one must suppose, preceded the consulship, as he could hardly have been elected to it with such accusations hanging over him.

⁵⁷ Marcus practised what he preached in the second trial of Herodes, mentioned above.

⁵⁸ His maternal grandfather. It seems as if Herodes was not yet a teacher of Marcus.

⁵⁹ Fronto is probably punning on Marcus’s name *Verus*. Hadrian gave him the pet name of *Verissimus*, which Justin Martyr also uses, and it appears on the coins of Tyras on the Euxine.

⁶⁰ We can scarcely keep the assonance: “It is not right that such a wight.”

⁶¹ Lit. “keep at a distance with darts.”

⁶² It is curious that Fronto did not know of this friendship and, indeed, more about such a man as Herodes.

⁶³ Herodes himself is meant, not his son, as generally supposed. His father left by his will a yearly sum of money to every Athenian citizen. But Herodes compounded with the Athenians for a single payment of 5 minae. However, by deducting from this sum moneys owed by them to his father, he exasperated the citizens against himself, and this may have caused the high-handed proceedings described here. See Philost. *Vit. Soph.* 236, Kays.

⁶⁴ In spite of Fronto’s speech they became great friends. See below, *Ad. Ant.* ii. 8.

⁶⁵ Probably not the jurist, mentioned in the Digest, who was later. Nothing is known of the persons named.

⁶⁶ Herodes appears to be meant.

⁶⁷ Opicus, another form for Oscan = a rude, unlettered person.

⁶⁸ Orpheus appears on the Alexandrine coins of Marcus.

⁶⁹ So Dio, lxxi. 35, § 6, and Zonaras, ii: ἦν γὰρ καὶ φύσει ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ, πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ παιδείας βελτίων ἐγένετο.

⁷⁰ Marcus would have assumed the toga virilis about 135 A.D.

⁷¹ Probably Salvius Julianus, the great jurist, who is mentioned in the Digest, xxxvii. 14, 17 Pr. by Marcus as amicus noster.

⁷² Ennius probably.

⁷³ Called amicus noster by Marcus and Verus in Digest, xxxvii. 14, 17 Pr. He was one of Marcus's teachers, and wrote a book for him De Asse ac Ponderibus, which is still extant.

⁷⁴ According to Teuffel's Latin Literature, Sota (Σωτᾶς) = Sotades. There was a metre called Sotadean, but probably named from a licentious Greek poet mentioned by Martial (Epigr. ii. 86).

⁷⁵ See next letter.

⁷⁶ Possibly the word means "to cool down" (cp. defervescere) and refers to the vehemence of Gracchus's style, see Ad Ver. i. 1. ad med.

⁷⁷ Excerpts from Terence, Vergil, Cicero, and Sallust, entitled Exempla Elocutionum, attributed by some to Fronto, have come down to us. Marcus followed this habit of making extracts. See Thoughts, iii. 14, and below, Ad Caes. ii. 10.

⁷⁸ Marcus did not receive the Imperium till 147 (with the Trib. Pot.), nor was he styled Imperator till 161. There must be some error in the word. The number (I.) that follows the heading may mean the first letter by Marcus in the Codex, in which case the whole first quaternion, which is lost, must have contained letters of Fronto.

⁷⁹ The alder seems out of place among upland and forest trees.

⁸⁰ See Plutarch, *On the Fortune of the Romans*, ch. x.; and for the various Fortunes cp. *De Orat.*, ad init.

⁸¹ This letter is evidently an answer to a *Pro Somno* of Fronto's. By "collusion" he means being really in favour of sleep while pretending to plead against it.

⁸² If we keep Hauler's reading of the *Codex eiusdem*, the pronoun would seem to refer to Theodoras (see p. 38), for we can hardly assent to Hauler's view that σκυλα refers to Squilla Gallicanus, to whom there is a letter below, *Ad Am.* i. 25.

⁸³ Marcus seems to refer to Ulysses being driven back-wards and forwards along the coast (*Odyss.* xii.).

⁸⁴ *Odyss.* iii. 117.

⁸⁵ *ibid.* x. 31.

⁸⁶ *ibid.* 29.

⁸⁷ *ibid.* 46.

⁸⁸ Sicily.

⁸⁹ *Odyss.* xii. 338.

⁹⁰ *ibid.* xi. 108; xii. 359, 364.

⁹¹ *ibid.* xii. 370, 372.

⁹² *Odyss.* i. 58.

⁹³ *Iliad*, iv. 22, 23.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 24.

⁹⁵ Fronto. Jerome calls certain translations of the Scriptures *non versiones sed eversiones*.

⁹⁶ Cicero (*Acad.* ii. 16) quotes the beginning of Ennius's own account of the dream: *Visus Homerus adesse poeta*.

⁹⁷ cp. Hesiod, *Theog.* 22 f.

⁹⁸ Odyss. xiii. 80.

⁹⁹ In a fragment of a letter to Marcus as emperor, Charisius, *Ars Grammatica*, ii. 223, 8, quotes from Fronto *adest etiam usque, quaque tibi natura situs lepos et venustas*.

¹⁰⁰ This must refer to some word in the lost pages, not to *praevaricor*, which characterizes Marcus' treatment of the theme in general.

¹⁰¹ For the meaning of *luteus* see Fronto apud Gell. ii. 26, § 8.

¹⁰² Cicero, *De Off.* iii. 19, calls it *rusticorum proverbium*. To "flash with the fingers" was to raise some of them sharply for another to rap out the number, a game still played in Italy and called *mora*.

¹⁰³ Possibly the book *De Virtute*; see Cicero, *Tusc.* v. 1. For his other philosophical works see Cicero, *Acad. Part.* i. 12.

¹⁰⁴ As in Aul. Gell. xv. 7 and Tac. *Ann.* i. 8; Hildebrand on Apul. *Met.* iv. 27, takes it as = *ambigua*.

¹⁰⁵ Fronto is nettled at something Marcus had said against conventional insincerities of language. It was not for nothing that he was called *Verissimus*.

¹⁰⁶ As when he pretended ignorance (*dissimulatio*) to elicit a definition from others.

¹⁰⁷ The Greek word = *civiliter*. cp. *urbanitas* in the quotation from Quintilian in note on p. 100.

¹⁰⁸ Fronto imitates Sallust in the conclusion of this letter. The last words are a good specimen of a Frontonian *sententia* or *γνώμη*.

¹⁰⁹ The epideictic kind (*genus demonstrativum* of Quintilian) was for show speech, such as panegyrics, speeches of thanks to the Emperor, and *μελέτας*, like the set declamations of the Greek rhetoricians. Quintilian (xii. 58) distinguishes three styles in oratory as (1) *subtile*, (2) *floridum* (namque id ἀνθηρόν appellat) or *medium*, (3) *grande ac robustum*; but Gellius (vii. 14) as *gracilis*, *mediocris*, *uber*. The subject here referred to as occupying Marcus, may be the speech mentioned in the next letter.

¹¹⁰ Fronto, according to Cl. Mainertus, excelled in *pompa* (the epideictic speech); according to Macrobius, in the *siccum genus* (forensic).

¹¹¹ Either in a letter or perhaps in the speech. If the former, it may have been in connexion

with their being taught to speak the truth.

¹¹² Droz (De Frontonis Instit. Orat. p. 47) thinks Fronto had been reading an epideictic speech of Marcus's and been disappointed by it.

¹¹³ The official record, like our "Hansard." Julius Caesar introduced the custom of keeping this record.

¹¹⁴ Fronto's wife.

¹¹⁵ The nearest passage to this in our extant Pl. is Most. i. ii. 62: *pro imbre amor advenit in cor meum. Is usque in pectus permanavit.*

¹¹⁶ Not the letter (Ad M. Caes. i. 3) given on p. 83, as Brakman thinks.

¹¹⁷ Possibly Victorious, or Fronto's brother Quadratus.

¹¹⁸ See Pliny, N.H. xv. 19.

¹¹⁹ *ibid.* xix. 41. The cabbage of Aricia (*brassica oleracea*) is said by Pliny to be the most useful of all, but the argument requires that it should be only for pleasure.

¹²⁰ From an interesting anecdote in Philost. (Vit. Soph. p. 231, Kays.) we find that Marcus formed a higher estimate of Polemo in later life.

¹²¹ His name at this time was Marcus Aurelius Verus.

¹²² *i.e.* Victorinus, afterwards the son-in-law of Fronto. He was one of Marcus's school friends. Lucian, writing a little later, speaks similarly of the critical audiences (*Quom. Hist. Scrib.* 10). The passage here quoted may have appealed to patrician pride; or its cadence with its repetition of the letter *i* may have pleased the hearers.

¹²³ Marcus himself refused to do this; see Dio, lxxi. 21). It was subsequently forbidden by law (*Cod. IX. xlvii. 12*).

¹²⁴ For *luteus* see Aul. Gell. ii. 26, § 8, = "flame-coloured," used of a bride's veil. For Fronto's thought cp. Seneca, Ep. 114 and 100 §§ 5 ff., *quorundam non est compositio, modulatio est; adeo blanditur et molliter labitur; and lege Ciceronem; compositio una est; pedem servat lenta et sine infamia mollis.*

¹²⁵ *Capit. Vit. Mar. iii. 7*, says of Marcus: *tantum operis et laboris studiis impendit, ut corpus adficeret.*

- ¹²⁶ Marcus was born April 26, 121 A.D.
- ¹²⁷ Polemo, a tipsy gallant, bursting into the lecture room of Xenocrates, was converted by what he heard to better ways, and succeeded him as head of the Academy.
- ¹²⁸ Augustus gave the site of the cemetery on the Esquiline to Maecenas, who covered it with 25 feet of earth and there laid out his “gardens,” of which Fronto was now the owner. See Lanciani, *Ancient Rome*, p. 67 (1889).
- ¹²⁹ April 26.
- ¹³⁰ See Zenob. *Prov. Cent.* iv. 2. Nothing is known of the Pyrrhaeans.
- ¹³¹ Whether this and the following letter refer to the thanks for Fronto’s consulship is not clear. If so, we should have expected Pius to give Fronto his title of consul.
- ¹³² Faustina the younger, daughter of Pius, seems to be meant, as Mommsen suggested.
- ¹³³ An Aegean island to which banished persons were sent.
- ¹³⁴ Marcus is referring to Fronto’s speech of thanks to Pius in the Senate.
- ¹³⁵ As symbol of authority.
- ¹³⁶ He knows his own weakness and never feared admonition, because he knows how much he needs it and such a teacher.
- ¹³⁷ Demosth. 928, 6.
- ¹³⁸ *Horribiliter* appears to be a slang use.
- ¹³⁹ A marginal note in the Codex says that this letter was to excuse Fronto’s silence post integritatem redditam. Fronto’s health seems meant.
- ¹⁴⁰ “Amici mores noveris non oderis.” See Trench, *On Proverbs*, p. 49, note.
- ¹⁴¹ Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 30.
- ¹⁴² The arrow-snake, Isaiah, xxxiv. 15: so *iaculi serpentes*, Lucan ix. 720, and cp. Hor. *Odes*, iii. 27, 6.
- ¹⁴³ Plutarch (*Demetr.* 22) says seven years, cp. Pliny, *N.H.* xxxv. 30, §§ 10, 20.

- ¹⁴⁴ For the lame Hephaestus see Hom. Il. i. ad fin.
- ¹⁴⁵ Marcus appears to be speaking of himself. At the end of the preceding letter (Ad M. Caes. ii. 9, p. 146) and the beginning of this one several pages are lost.
- ¹⁴⁶ Naevius was the earliest great national poet of Rome. He wrote an epic on the First Punic War, and also tragedies.
- ¹⁴⁷ cp. Shaks. Hamlet, III. ii, 399.
- ¹⁴⁸ Probably the Augustan poet, orator, and historian, Asinius Pollio, is meant. His archaism would recommend him to Fronto, who subsequently quotes a work of his (Ad Verum, ii. 1).
- ¹⁴⁹ July and August, the two months of Fronto's consulship, during which Fronto had to be in Rome.
- ¹⁵⁰ He appears as one of Pliny's correspondents in his letters.
- ¹⁵¹ Possibly a Punic name, thinks Niebuhr.
- ¹⁵² Marcus was born on Mons Caelius, where the Annii had a residence.
- ¹⁵³ Caecilius Statius, a comic poet contemporary with Ennius.
- ¹⁵⁴ Masurius Sabinus was a great jurist of Tiberius's reign. Persius (Sat. v. 90) mentions a work of his called Rubrica, Possibly Marcus is alluding to the jargon of minute legal distinctions.
- ¹⁵⁵ Probably named Quadratus. See Corpus Inscr. Lat. xv. 7438.
- ¹⁵⁶ The Jews. The same may be said of the Moslems and their fast.
- ¹⁵⁷ Fronto's wife.
- ¹⁵⁸ The oath was that he had administered his office according to law. Herodian (iv. 3) says that this was done in the old forum (ἀγορά).
- ¹⁵⁹ Homer, Il. ix. 312.
- ¹⁶⁰ cp.. Capit. Vit. Marci, iv. 9 amavit pugillatum, luctamina. The phrase faucibus urgere is from Sall. Cat. 52.

¹⁶¹ As Gratia, Fronto's daughter, married Victorinus about the year 160, she is not likely to have been more than two or three years old, at the most, in 143.

¹⁶² i.e. Sallust; M. Porcius is Cato.

¹⁶³ This repeated use of *atque* was a habit of Cato's.

¹⁶⁴ Pius's villa, twelve miles from Rome, on the Via Aurelia, where he died.

¹⁶⁵ Fronto had evidently accused himself of *impudentia* for sending Marcus something of his (? his speech) to be criticised.

¹⁶⁶ This is the only considerable fragment of Fronto's speeches which we have. Nothing more is known of the case with which it deals. Fronto's legal treatment of the question at issue is severely condemned by Dirksen (*Opusc.* i. 243 ff.), but it is quite impossible to believe that Fronto was as ignorant of law as his critic asserts.

¹⁶⁷ The Emperor could legislate either directly by edict, or by a judicial decision (*iudicium = decretum*), or as became usual after Nerva by a *rescript*, interpreting the law, in answer to an inquiry or petition.

¹⁶⁸ It is possible to take these words as Fronto's own — much way has he made and with speed.

¹⁶⁹ Marcus, when emperor, allowed only one adjournment; see *Digest*, ii. 12, 1.

¹⁷⁰ The Latin = our slang "sitting tight on."

¹⁷¹ Pius punished conduct of this kind (see *Digest*, xlii. 4, 7) by adjudging the inheritance to the other claimant.

¹⁷² cp. *Acts*, xxvii. 38.

¹⁷³ The new *Thes. Ling. Lat.* gives *dissipatur* as the gloss for *differtur* here.

¹⁷⁴ Herodes married Annia Regilla about 143, and this would be his first son by her. His passionate grief on other occasions is noted by Lucian, *Demonax*, §§ 24, 35, and Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 242, *Kays*.

¹⁷⁵ Aesopus in tragedy, Roscius, who taught Cicero declamation, in comedy. Marcus, probably about this time, was studying under Geminus the comedian; see *Capit.* iv. 2.

- ¹⁷⁶ A writer of mimes and an eques of the time of Julius Caesar.
- ¹⁷⁷ For *beneficium* and *veneficium*, cp. Apul. *Apol.* ii. 2. The letters were constantly interchanged. Shakespeare, *Two Gentl.* III. i. 216, puns on the words vanished and banished.
- ¹⁷⁸ The heading is lost, but the letter is certainly addressed to Herodes Atticus in response to the request of Marcus made in a previous letter.
- ¹⁷⁹ Herodes would not have been fifty at this time.
- ¹⁸⁰ These two were masters of Fronto; see Index. Marcus (*Thoughts*, i. 13) mentions Athenodotus.
- ¹⁸¹ Marcus is meant.
- ¹⁸² A splendid villa of Trajan's on the Etrurian coast, now Civita Vecchia. Pliny, *Ep.* vi. 31, gives a good description of it.
- ¹⁸³ Between Rome and Centumcellae on the Via Aurelia.
- ¹⁸⁴ He was tried for massacring nearly the whole nation of the Lusitanians by means of the basest treachery. Cato, though eighty-five years old, was his accuser. Galba brought his sons and one nephew into court to excite pity.
- ¹⁸⁵ Probably of Etruscan origin, and a sort of "Book of the Dead"; cp. Livy, iv. 7. 12. It is said that such books have recently been found.
- ¹⁸⁶ "Priest, don the fell" (Dr. Rouse).
- ¹⁸⁷ i.e. the regio through which ran the Via Aurelia.
- ¹⁸⁸ A phrase from Cicero (*Tusc.* ii. 24, 59).
- ¹⁸⁹ Fronto plays on two meanings of *legere*.
- ¹⁹⁰ A good wine is meant. Marsic wine was poor, see Mart, xiii. 121 and Athen. i. 26. The wine of Signia was astringent and medicinal.
- ¹⁹¹ Marcus was fond of hunting; see Capit. iv. 9. Coins also shew this; see Cohen, 408, and a beautiful medallion in Grueber.
- ¹⁹² Nothing more is known of this speech.

- ¹⁹³ Built by Augustus; see Hor. Od. i. 31; Ep. i. 3. 17.
- ¹⁹⁴ In the Palace of Tiberius.
- ¹⁹⁵ Lucian (Lexiph. 2) speaks of τοὺς ἐργάτας λιγυρίζοντας τὴν θερινὴν ὁδὴν.
- ¹⁹⁶ Capit. Vit. Pii, xi. 5, says Pius always performed the sacrifice himself.
- ¹⁹⁷ Capit. (ibid. xi. 2) tells us that Pius vindemias privati modo cum amicis agebat.
- ¹⁹⁸ Possibly from the Vindemiatores of Novius.
- ¹⁹⁹ Fronto's daughter.
- ²⁰⁰ Ion, 732.
- ²⁰¹ We know from Galen (xiv. 216, Kühn) that Marcus was in later life, too, a good and intelligent patient.
- ²⁰² In Plato's Phaedo, ad init.
- ²⁰³ It is not known who is referred to.
- ²⁰⁴ For his speech of thanks as consul (145 A.D.) or as invested with Trib. Pot. (147).
- ²⁰⁵ Cicero uses it (De Orat. i. 33).
- ²⁰⁶ The first four letters seem to refer to the same occasion as the four that precede.
- ²⁰⁷ The first mention of Faustina in connection with Marcus, to whom she was married in 145.
- ²⁰⁸ A harbour of Latium. Marcus (Thoughts, i. ad fin.) mentions a stay there.
- ²⁰⁹ Perhaps the phrase means "belittle" or "make light of a thing."
- ²¹⁰ Hauler (Wien. Stud. 25, pt. 1, 1903) takes differunt as = differuntur, a Plautine usage.
- ²¹¹ Homer, see above p. 94.
- ²¹² Either Faustina or the mother of Marcus. By Augusta is meant Faustina the younger, who received this title on her marriage to Marcus in 145.

- ²¹³ Afterwards Fronto's son-in-law.
- ²¹⁴ It is not known what misfortune had befallen Fronto.
- ²¹⁵ Annia Cornificia, born about 123 A.D. She married Unnnidius Quadratus.
- ²¹⁶ This would be at Lorium, or somewhere in the country.
- ²¹⁷ It is not clear whether this is his mother or Faustina.
- ²¹⁸ If Fronto here refers to the scorpion incident, it is curious that he does not enquire for the rest of the family.
- ²¹⁹ Annia Galeria Faustina, born probably early in 146. She died in infancy, and Herodes set up an inscription to her at Olympia (Dessau, ii. 8803).
- ²²⁰ This does not seem to be found in the preceding letter.
- ²²¹ Of Eunius.
- ²²² cp. Capit. Vit. Marci, iv. 8, 10.
- ²²³ *ibid.* xv. 1, and cp. Thoughts, vi. 46.
- ²²⁴ Capit. xxii. 5: quia durus videbatur ex, philosophiae institutione.
- ²²⁵ Uber (= grandis, Quintilian, xii. 10. 58) corresponds to the Greek ἀπδός, and characterises the epideictic kind of oratory.
- ²²⁶ Cic. Ad Att. i. 19 uses this word as equivalent to acclamationes, i.e. approval by acclamation ; but ἐπιφώνημα also stands for exclamatio, a rhetorical term for apostrophizing something to excite pity or anger (see Auct. ad Herenn. iv. 15. 22). Quintilian however uses it (viii. 5) for the summing up in a concise, telling form of a narrative or proof.
- ²²⁷ The word Quinquatrus means "falling on the fifth day" (i.e. after the ides of March, viz. March 19), but the feast also lasted five days. A lesser festival of the same name fell on June 13. Suetonius (Domit. 4) says that Domitian celebrated the feast yearly at his villa at Albanum.
- ²²⁸ Afterwards became the town of Albanum. Dio, lxvii. 1, describes it. He tells us (lxvii. 14, § 6) that Acilius Glabrio (supposed to have become subsequently a Christian) fought with wild beasts (cp. Juvenal, 4, 95). Suetonius (Domit. 10) informs us that he was put to death by

Domitian.

²²⁹ Apparently the daughter, not the wife, of Marcus.

²³⁰ Probably his residence on the Esquiline, the Horti Maccenatiani.

²³¹ A Lucilius was trib. pl. in 94, but no Acilius appears as censor at that date. This letter seems to be an answer to the preceding one, but it gives details of the theme which we should expect to have been given when it was first set.

²³² Victorinus, later Fronto's son-in-law. For his incorruptibility see Dio, lxxii. 11. The family came from Pisaurum in Umbria.

²³³ A Stoic philosopher, but with leanings to Platonism. His system, like that of Marcus subsequently, concerned itself only with ethics.

²³⁴ This was written, therefore, between April 26, 146, and April 26, 147.

²³⁵ See Plut. Ages. 30.

²³⁶ Supposed by some to be Plautus.

²³⁷ Here came the parting of the ways, and philosophy and his teacher Rusticus definitely vanquished Fronto and rhetoric. See *Thoughts*, i. 7 and 17, § 4.

²³⁸ Philost. (Vit. Soph. 242, Kays.) tells us that Marcus sometimes wrote to Herodes three letters in one day.

²³⁹ The expression points to a time after Marcus had been invested with the Trib. Pot. and Proconsular Imperium.

²⁴⁰ Obviously of Hero and Leander.

²⁴¹ Annia Galeria Faustina and Annia Lucilla, who was born about 148. A son born between the two died soon after birth in 147. See C.I.G. 3176.

²⁴² July 1, 138.

²⁴³ If this letter is correctly dated, these rota would be the decennalia. See *Coins of Pius*, Cohen, 226-229.

²⁴⁴ As only one daughter is now mentioned, the little Faustina must have died, leaving Lucilla

alone.

²⁴⁵ This the first allusion to Lucius Verus, the other adopted son of Pius, afterwards joint-emperor with Marcus.

²⁴⁶ Lucilla, the daughter of Marcus, must be meant.

²⁴⁷ There is an inscription (C.I.L. vi. 8588; cp. viii. 997) by his wife, Fuficia Clymena, to Q. Saenius Pompeianus as conductor IIII publicorum Africae, i.e., farmer of four public revenues of Africa (see Orelli, Inscr. Lat. 6650).

²⁴⁸ Lucilla and Arria Fudilla, the latter born about 150 A.D.

²⁴⁹ Asia. Fronto was consul in 143, and the usual interval between the consulship and proconsulate at this time was twelve to fifteen years. But Fronto may have had his appointment accelerated in consideration of his age or health.

²⁵⁰ Marcus speaks very highly of him (Thoughts, i. 8; 17, § 4), and Epiphanius calls him ἑταῖρος Ἀντωνίνου. But see Capit. Vit. Pii, x. § 4, and Lucian, Demonax, § 31.

²⁵¹ Cirta, in Numidia, where he was born.

²⁵² Where he probably studied in his youth.

²⁵³ A procurator might be (1) a collector of the imperial revenues, (2) a steward, (3) an overseer of any kind, as agent or manager.

²⁵⁴ Of Pius.

²⁵⁵ Of thanks, possibly for the consulship in 154.

²⁵⁶ What the specific disease was is not clear.

²⁵⁷ sc. "must my feeling be."

²⁵⁸ Or, "above all."

²⁵⁹ On the birthday of one of the children; see next letter.

²⁶⁰ The mother of Marcus.

²⁶¹ Probably Domitia Faustina, who died as an infant. See inscription on the Moles Hadriana,

Orelli 672 = Willmi. 964. Cornificia, the next daughter, was not born till about 159.

²⁶² Ehrental thinks that Marcus should have said: “We too love you the more because Gratia is like you. (So we can understand how our likeness to our baby endears us to you.”

²⁶³ April 26 (? 156).

²⁶⁴ Viz. Marcus’s birthday.

²⁶⁵ Lucilla, the mother of Marcus, died about 156. This is the last mention of her.

²⁶⁶ Nothing is known of Censorius, but Gavius Maximus, whom he attacked, probably died in 157. The tone of this letter is much more formal and less familiar than the previous ones to Pius, and this may be evidence of an earlier date. But Fronto had a difficult task to perform, and his letter is a model of tact.

²⁶⁷ He was praef. pract. under Hadrian from 119–135 A.D.

²⁶⁸ Consul II. in 146, and then praef. urbi.

²⁶⁹ Or do the words mean “from your marks of approbation”?

²⁷⁰ He was praef. praet. 141–157, and therefore, we may suppose, a personal friend of Pius.

²⁷¹ Fronto had pupils who lived with him, such as the two sons of Sardinus Saturninus, mentioned below.

²⁷² This was the historian Appian, who tells us in the Preface to his History that he received such an appointment from Marcus and Lucius, when emperors. These procurators were set over every department of state and of the imperial household. They managed the emperor’s domains, his mines, etc., the corn-supply, the water-supply, and the alimentary institutions. In the imperial provinces the procurators were fiscal officers. The procurator a rationibus was the highest of these officials, and corresponded to a Secretary of State.

²⁷³ i.e. that the Greek as well as Appian should be granted his request.

²⁷⁴ See Fronto’s letter throwing up his proconsulship, p. 236.

²⁷⁵ It appears that Appian had sent Fronto a present of two slaves, which Fronto returned. Appian now sends them again, with this letter.

²⁷⁶ Martial heads his thirteenth book of epigrams *Xenia*, from the little complimentary gifts

made to guests and friends.

277 At Athens a man, who thought himself unfairly taxed compared with another, could claim a re-assessment for both or an exchange of properties between them (ἀντιδόσις).

278 Hom. Il. vi. 236.

279 cp. Hesiod, W. and D. 349, 354: εὖ μὲν μετρεῖσθαι παρὰ γείτονος, εὖ δ' ἀποδοῦναι | αὐτῷ τῷ μέτρῳ

280 Proconsul of Africa 156–159. Apuleius also (Apol. 94 f.) wrote to Avitus a letter of recommendation, eulogizing him in language that reminds us of Fronto.

281 Fronto tells us elsewhere (Ad Ver. ii. 7, and cp. Marcus, Thoughts, i. 11) that φιλοστοργία was practically non-existent, at least among the patricians of Rome. The word means affection between the members of a family.

282 Corn. Repentinus Contuccius was praef. praet. with Fur. Vietorinus for the year 159, and probably died that year. As the praef. praet. had judicial powers, the case of Fabianus may have come before him.

283 Probably the consul of 146, and the father-in-law of Marcus's daughter Fadilla. In his Thoughts, i. 14, Marcus mentions the latter as “having confidence in the love of his friends.”

284 Phrynichus in his Ἐκλογή speaks highly of a Sulp. Cornelianus, and says that Marcus and Lucius put all the affairs of the Greeks in his charge συνεργὸν αὐτὸν ἐλόμενοι τῆς βασιλείας.

285 If the MS. concilii may be so translated. The Consilium was a body of officials and assessors attending the judges at a trial.

286 Nothing is known for certain of him. Plarianus was leg. pr. of Africa in 159. For him see C.I.L. viii. 800, 1177.

287 cp. the use of apparatus in Hor. Od. i. 38. Dio, lxxii. 11, § 2, uses the expression παρασκευὴ τῶν λόγων.

288 The other name of Julianus. He was consul in 145, and therefore proconsul about 157–159.

289 Fronto was born at Cirta, now Constantine, in Numidia. Triumvirs, also in some cases quattuorviri iuri dicundo, were the chief magistrates of municipia. Colonies, such as Cirta, usually had duumviri.

²⁹⁰ Gratia.

²⁹¹ Now Bona or Beled el Aneb.

²⁹² A grammarian of whom an inscr. (C.I.L. vi. 146) says orator utraque facundia maximus. For him see Aul. Gell. xix. 13.

²⁹³ The official title of senators.

²⁹⁴ This letter appears to have been written very soon after the death of Pius (on March 7, 161). Fronto had been away four months, possibly on a visit to Africa, where he had property and friends.

²⁹⁵ Terence, Phorm. III. i. 6. Adelphi, III. ii. 32.

²⁹⁶ The great-aunt of Marcus. One of the little daughters must have been Cornificia, born about 159. It is not clear who the other was. Domitia Faustina died before Marcus became emperor, and Sabina was not born yet.

²⁹⁷ Lucilla and Fadilia.

²⁹⁸ In 143. cp. above, p. 113.

²⁹⁹ cp. Marcus, Thoughts, i. 16; vi. 30.

³⁰⁰ Also called Pylades. They were both pantomimi.

³⁰¹ Probably a freedman of Verus, named after the great actor Apolaustus (mentioned Vit. Veri, viii.).

³⁰² Not Suetonius the writer, who would have been seventy years old by 139 A.D.

VOLUME 2

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF MARCUS CORNELIUS FRONTO CONTINUED

Marcus Antoninus to Fronto

162 A.D.

To my master.

In what holiday-wise we have kept our holiday at Alsium¹ I will not put on paper, that you may not be yourself troubled and scold me, my master. On my return to Lorium² I found my little lady³ slightly feverish. The doctor says, if we soon If you were well, I should be happier. For I hope to see you already enjoying the use of sound eyes Farewell, my master.

Fronto to Marcus Antoninus

162 A.D.

To my Lord Antoninus Augustus.

Your Alsian holiday of many rustic things. That Cato also in his speech *Against Lepidus* mentioned a word in everyone's mouth when he spoke of *statues*⁴ *set up to such unmanly creatures as Ocha and Dionysodorus who practised cooking* a beginning of singing and playing

Fronto to Marcus

162 A.D.

To my Lord Antoninus Augustus.

1. What? Am I not aware that you went to Alsium with the intention of indulging yourself and there giving yourself up to recreation and mirth and complete leisure for four whole days? And I have no doubt that you have set about enjoying the holiday at your seaside resort in this fashion: after taking your usual siesta at noonday, you would call Niger⁵ and bid him bring in your books; soon when you felt the inclination to read, you would polish your style

with Plautus or saturate yourself with Accius or soothe yourself with Lucretius or fire yourself with Ennius, to the hour in that case appropriate to the Muses, the fifth⁶; if he had brought you treatises of Cicero, you would listen to them; then you would go as far as possible off the beaten track to the shore and skirt the croaking marshes; then even, if the fancy took you, get on board some vessel, that, putting out to sea in calm weather, you might delight yourself with the sight and sound of the rowers and their time-giver's⁷ baton; anon you would be off from there to the baths, make yourself sweat profusely, then discuss a royal banquet with shellfish of all kinds, a Plautine *catch hook-taken, rock-haunting*, as he says, capons long fed fat, delicacies, fruit, sweets, confectionery, felicitous wines, translucent cups with no informer's brand.

2. Perhaps you will ask what *do* you mean? Listen then! I as a man greatly eloquent and a disciple of Annaeus Seneca call Faustian⁸ wines *felicitous* wines from Faustus Sulla's title; moreover when I speak of a cup without an informer's brand, I mean a cup without a spot. For it does not become a man so learned as I am to speak in everyday terms of Falernian wine or a flawless cup. For to what end can I say that you chose Alsium, a seaside and pleasure resort and, as Plautus has it, a *slippery spot*, if not to indulge yourself and, in ancient parlance, take your *pleasu*? How — the mischief! — *pleasu*? Nay, if the truth must be told in docked words, that you might to your heart's content indulge in *watchin'* — I mean watching — , in *labors* — I mean labours — , in *vexats* — I mean vexations. You ever indulge in *pleasu*? It were easier to reconcile you to a polecat than to pleasure. Tell me, Marcus, I beseech you, have you repaired to Alsium only to fast with the sea in sight? What, could you not wear yourself out at Lorium with hunger and thirst and doing business? With a fine view seem to you more delightful? I remember (telling) you The very sea, they say, keeps holiday, when the halcyon broods.⁹ Is a halcyon with her chicks worthier of quiet ease than you with your children?

3. But you say that circumstances now plainly demand — not study surely? not toil? not wakefulness? not duties? What bow is for ever strung¹⁰ ? what chords for ever stretched? By winking alone can eyes keep their sight, which could not but fail if fixed in one unwavering stare. A garden repeatedly planted, if it lack the aid of manure, bears only weeds and stunted vegetables

of no value; for corn, however, and staple crops land that has lain fallow is chosen; rest restores fruitfulness to the soil.

4. What of your ancestors who enlarged the state and empire of Rome with huge additions? Your great-grandfather, consummate warrior as he was, yet at times took pleasure in actors¹¹ and, moreover, drank pretty stoutly. Yet thanks to him the Roman people often drank mead at his triumphs. We know, too, that your grandfather, a learned ruler and a strenuous, loving not only to govern the world, but to go up and down in it, was yet devoted to music and flute-players, and was withal a right good eater of right rich banquets. Again, your father, that godlike man, who in his foresight, continence, frugality, blamelessness, dutifulness, and personal righteousness excelled the virtues of all rulers, yet visited the palaestra, and baited a hook and laughed at buffoons.

5. I say nothing of Gaius Caesar, Cleopatra's keenest foe and afterwards paramour, nothing of Augustus, the husband of Livia. As regards Romulus himself the founder of this city, when he slew the leader of the enemy in a hand-to-hand combat and brought the *Spolia Opima*¹² to Jupiter Feretrius, do you think he was content with half rations? Verily no hungry or ascetic man could have conceived the idea of carrying off grown-up maidens from a public festival.¹³ What? did not the aged Numa, most holy of men, pass his life putting sacred offerings and tithes to secular uses, and sacrificing bulls, sheep, and swine, he the dictator of festivals, the inaugurator of banquets, the promulgator of holidays? I call him a gourmand and a holiday-maker. And do you of all men keep your holidays fasting? Nor will I pass over your own Chrysippus,¹⁴ who used to get mellow, so they say, every day in the year. And very many . . . Plainly Socrates himself, as you may gather from the *Symposia*, the *Dialogues*, and the *Letters of the Socratics*, was a man of much shrewdness and wit — the Socrates, mark you, who was Aspasia's pupil and Alcibiades's teacher.

6. Now if you have declared war on play, relaxation, good living, and pleasure, yet do sleep as a freeman should. (When you have worked) hard till the last (hour of the day, will you continue your labours) till the dawn? Prithee, if no one had stolen fire from heaven, would not the sun suffice you for your judicial duties? Do realise in your conscience that you are tied to a daily falsehood, for, when you say that you "appoint the day" for trial of cases and yet try by night,¹⁵ then you are bound to be untruthful, whether you

condemn or acquit. If you condemn anyone, you say, *there appears to have been gross negligence*; where indeed but for the lights nothing could appear at all.

7. But do, I beseech you, in jest or earnest let yourself be persuaded by me not to rob yourself of sleep, and to keep the boundaries of day and night distinct. Imagine that two noble and illustrious litigants, Evening and Morning, are having a lawsuit about boundaries not yet marked out. Each party puts in a description of his own frontier. Sleep claims to intervene in their trial, for he too is connected with the business, and declares that he suffers prejudice. Would that I had as much vigour and enthusiasm as I enjoyed when long ago I composed those trifles in praise of *Smoke and of Dust*. Verily I would have written a eulogy of Sleep to the top of my skill! Now, too, if you care to hear a short apologue on Sleep, listen.

8. They tell us that Father Jove, when at the beginning of things he was founding the human race, with one stroke clave asunder the continuity of man's life into two parts in every respect equal; the one he clothed with light, the other with darkness; called this day and that night, and assigned to night rest and to day work. As yet Sleep had not been born, and all men passed their whole lives awake. But in lieu of sleep the hush of night had been hitherto established for wakeful men. Then, little by little, men's disposition being restless and prone to action and excitement, they began to employ nights as well as days in business, giving not an hour to rest. Then they say that Jove, seeing that now quarrels and recognizances were fixed for the night, and suits were even put off from one night to another, took counsel with his own heart to set up one of his own brethren to preside over night and the repose of mankind. But Neptune pleaded his many heavy cares upon the seas, that the waves should not overflow whole lands, mountains and all, or cyclones in their fury level everything with the ground and suck up the woods and the crops by their roots. Father Dis too made his plea that hardly with immense pains and immense anxiety were the nether precincts kept under control, hardly was Hades impaled in on every side with rivers and marishes and the Stygian fens; that he had even set up a watch-dog to terrify any Shades that had a mind to escape to the upper air, and had given him to boot a triple throat for barking, three gaping jaws, and threefold terror of teeth.

9. Then Jove after question had with other Gods perceived that a liking for

wakefulness was considerably in the ascendant; that Juno called most children to birth at night; that Minerva, mistress of arts and artificers, was for much wakefulness; that Mars by the silence of the surroundings aided nightly sallies and ambuscades; that Venus, however, and Liber were by far the most in favour of the night-wakers. Jupiter then made up his mind to beget Sleep, and enrolled him among the Gods, set him in charge of night and repose, and gave into his keeping the keys of men's eyes. He also mixed with his own hands the juice of herbs, wherewith Sleep might soothe to rest the hearts of men. The herbs of security and delight he culled from the groves of Heaven, but the herb of death was sought in the meadows of Acheron. Of that death he mingled but one drop and that the tiniest, as is the tear of one who would hide his tears.

With this juice, said he, instil slumber into men through the gateways of their eyes: all, into whom thou dost thus instil it, will thereafter at once fall down and lie prone with limbs motionless as though dead. But fear thou not, for they will be alive and anon, when they awake, will rise again.

10. That done, Jupiter furnished Sleep with wings, not as Mercury's attached to the ankles, but like Love's fitted to the shoulders. *For thou must not, said he, dash into the eyelids and pupils of men with sandals and winged ankles, with the whirling of chariots and the thunder of steeds, but fly to them quietly and softly with gentle wings like a swallow and not with clapping of pinions like pigeons.*

11. Furthermore, that Sleep might be the more welcome to men, he endowed him with many a lovely dream that, according to each sleeper's favourite hobby, he might — in his dreams — either watch an actor and clap him or listen to a flute-player or shout advice to a charioteer in his course; that soldiers might conquer and generals triumph¹⁶ — in their dreams; and wanderers come home — in their dreams. Such dreams generally turn out true.

12. So, Marcus, if you need a dream hereafter, I advise you to sleep with a will, until such time as what you desire and as you wish it may fall to your lot in your waking hours.

To my master, greeting.

I have just received your letter, which I will enjoy presently. For at the moment I have duties hanging over me that can hardly be begged off. Meanwhile I will tell you, my master, shortly, as I am busy, what you want to hear, that our little daughter¹⁷ is better and can run about the bedroom. After dictating the above I read the Alsian letters, my master, at my leisure, while the others were dining and I was lying down at eight o'clock, satisfied with a light repast. *Much good has my advice done you*, you will say! Much, my master, for I have rested¹⁸ upon your advice, and I shall read it the oftener that I may the oftener rest upon it. But who knows better than yourself how exacting a thing is obedience to duty? But what I beseech you is that which you say at the close of your letter, that your hand pained you. If the Gods are kind, my master, and grant my prayers, you will not have suffered pain since. Farewell, my best of masters, man of the warm heart.

On the Parthian War¹⁹

162 A.D.

To the Emperor Antoninus.

1. . . . The God who begat the great Roman race has no compunction in suffering us to faint at times and be defeated and wounded. Or would Father Mars hesitate to say of our soldiers the words? —

*Full well I knew when I begot you, you would die: I reared you for that end;
Aye, when I sent you forth the wide world through the empire to defend,
Full well I knew to deadly wars and not to feasts my children I should send.*

These words were uttered by Telamon to his sons once in the Trojan war. But Mars has spoken of the Romans in the same strain many a time and in many a war: in the Gaulish war at Allia,²⁰ in the Samnite at Caudium,²¹ in the Punic at Cannae,²² in the Spanish at Numantia,²³ in the Jugurthine at Cirta,²⁴ in the Parthian at Carrhae.²⁵ But always and everywhere he turned our sorrows into successes and our terrors into triumphs.

2. But not to hark back too far into ancient times, I will take instances from your own family. Was not a consular taken prisoner in Dacia under the leadership and auspices of your great grandfather Trajan?²⁶ Was not a consular likewise slain by the Parthians in Mesopotamia?²⁷ Again under the rule of your grandfather Hadrian what a number of soldiers were killed by the Jews,²⁸ what a number by the Britons!²⁹ Even in the principate of your Father, who was the most fortunate of princes Should we not think the son of a Marsian³⁰ father degenerate, if he were afraid of vipers, lizards, and water-snakes?³¹ are kept a few days in swaddling bands, the others pass their whole lives in rags.

3. And so that excellent emperor³² bade his captives be sold The strength of fishes lies in their tails, of birds in their wings, of snakes in their power of crawling both the restoration of the prestige of the Roman name, and the punishment of the enemy's traps and treachery, call upon those to halt who are ready to advance, forward, backward, here, there. It is by no means advantageous to a man that is born of woman that prosperity should always attend him: changing fortunes are more secure.

4. Take Polycrates³³ : strong in his vast wealth, and successful without a stumble in all that he undertook, he is said in the course of his life to have experienced no hard fortune or disappointment, such as to prevent him, when he had brought everything under his power, being counted the most fortunate of all kings. To him, as the story goes, Amasis the wise King of Egypt, being consulted about his unique good fortune, wrote a friendly letter, advising him of his own accord to inflict some loss knowingly upon himself, and by that penance disarm the envy of the Gods Now he had an emerald of extraordinary lustre set in a gold ring of the finest workmanship, which he valued above all his other possessions. Polycrates putting out to sea in a ship of war, cast this ring of his own accord into the water, making sure that he should never afterwards see it again.

5. Deliberate and premeditated as his act had been, he subsequently regretted the jewel he had cast away. But shortly after a fisherman, who with repeated casting of his nets had at length caught a huge fish, thought it too fine to take to the dealers, and in virtue of its excellence presented it to the king. The king was much pleased with the gift, and ordered it to be served at

his own table. When the slaves in pursuance of this order were busy with the fish preparing it for the table, they found the ring in its stomach and brought it joyfully to the king. Then Polycrates sent King Amasis a letter with full particulars of the sacrifice and recovery of the ring. Whereon Amasis, forecasting for Polycrates a disaster signal and speedy, renounced all friendship and ties of hospitality with him, that when his fortune changed he might regard it with less concern as affecting a stranger rather than his own guest or friend.

6. But the daughter of Polycrates had previously had a remarkable dream. She had seemed to see her father, raised aloft on an open and conspicuous spot, being laved and anointed by the hands of Jupiter and the Sun. The diviners read the dream as foretelling a rich and happy fortune.³⁴ But it turned out wholly otherwise. For Polycrates, beguiled by Oroetes the Persian, was seized and crucified. And so the dream was fulfilled in his crucifixion. For he was laved by Jove's hands when it rained, and anointed by the hands of the Sun, when the dew of agony came out upon his skin. Such prosperous beginnings as his have not seldom a disastrous ending. There should be no exultation over excessive and prolonged prosperity, no fainting away when a reverse has been sustained. You may soon hope for a victory, for Rome in her history has ever experienced frequent alternations of fortune.

7. Who is so unversed in military annals as not to know that the Roman people have earned their empire by falling no less than by felling? that our legions have often been broken and routed by the arms of barbarians? It has been found possible to subject to the yoke and to tame bulls, however savage and dangerous; and in the same way our armies have in former times been made to pass under the yoke. But those very foes, who forced us under the yoke, have our generals but a little later forced to march at the head of their triumphs and have sold them as slaves by auction.

8. After the disaster at Cannae the Carthaginian general sent to Carthage three bushels of golden rings heaped up, which Carthaginians had drawn from the fingers of Roman knights slain in the battle. But not many years later Carthage was taken, and chains were put on those who had drawn off the rings. In that battle what a multitude of Carthaginians and Africans did Scipio capture or slay or reduce to submission! Had he given orders for their tongues to be cut out, he could have sent into Rome a ship freighted with the tongues

of his enemies.

9. With respect to what you say that you can scarcely read anything except *by snatches* and *by stealth*³⁵ in your present anxieties, recall to your mind and ponder the fact that Gaius Caesar, while engaged in a most formidable war in Gaul wrote besides many other military works two books of the most meticulous character *On Analogy*,³⁶ discussing amid flying darts the declension of nouns, and the aspiration of words and their classification mid the blare of bugles and trumpets. Why then, O Marcus, should not you, who are endowed with no less abilities than Gaius Caesar, and are as noble in station and fortified by no fewer examples and patterns at home, master your duties and find time for yourself not only for reading speeches and poems and histories and the doctrines of philosophers, but also for unravelling syllogisms, if you can endure so far.

10. Now to say a few words in praise of that speech³⁷ of M. Tullius which I sent you to read. It seems to me the very truth that no one was ever praised either in Greek or Latin before an assembly of the people more eloquently than Gnaeus Pompeius in that speech, so much so that to me he seems to have earned his title of *Great* not so much by reason of his own merits as of Cicero's praises. Then besides you will find in it many chapters full of reflections well suited to your present measures, touching the choice of generals, the interests of allies, the safeguarding of provinces, the discipline of soldiers, the necessary qualifications of commanders for duties in the field and elsewhere because I think that these considerations, even occasionally brought forward with greater earnestness, would be profitable. At all events you would wish it; and if anyone Do not be offended with me for not having answered your letter in my own hand, and that though the letter I had from you was in yours. My fingers just now are very weak and refractory; then this epistle required many words, but my right hand is at this moment one of few letters.

Marcus Antoninus the Emperor to Fronto

162 A.D.

To my master. A good year, good health, good fortune do I ask of the Gods

on this your birthday, a red-letter day³⁸ for me, and I am assured that they will grant my prayer, for I commend to their bounty him whom the Gods themselves delight to aid and deem worthy of their help. You, my master, when other joyous thoughts pass through your mind on this your festal day, count over to yourself those who dearly love you: among the chief of these set this your pupil, set the Lord my brother there, both of us men that love you passionately. Farewell, my master, and may you for many years to come enjoy unbroken good health with your daughter, grandchildren and son-in-law³⁹ spared to make your happiness complete.

Our Faustina is recovering her health. Our little chick Antoninus⁴⁰ coughs rather less. The occupants of our little nest, each as far as he is old enough to do so, offer prayers for you. Next year and the year after and right on into a long old age, most delightful of masters, may you have the best of good health. I ask of you — and do not refuse me — not to take the trying journey to Lorium for Cornificia's⁴¹ birthday. God willing, you shall see us at Rome a few days hence. But if you love me, pass the coming night in peace and quiet without attending to any business however pressing. Grant this to your Antoninus, who asks it with sincerity and concern.

162 A.D.

Fronto to Antoninus Augustus.

1. For this old man and, as you style him, your master, good health, a good year, good fortune, everything good, which you write you have prayed of the Gods for me on this my birthday, above all others a red-letter day for you — all these good things are in your keeping and your brother's, O Antoninus, sweetest joy of my heart: whom, since I have known you and given myself up to you, I have ever held sweeter than all things, and will so hold you, although I live again other years as many as I have lived. This one thing, therefore, let all of us with joint prayers ask of the Gods, that you may both pass long lives in health and vigour, exercising your power to the advantage of the state and of your own households. Nor is there aught else I could wish so much to obtain either from the Gods or from Fairy Fortune or from yourselves, as that it may be my lot as long as possible to enjoy your presence, your converse, and your delightful letters; and to that end I am ready, if it were possible, to be

a boy again.

2. Otherwise, as far as everything else is concerned, I have had my fill of life. I see you, Antoninus, as excellent an Emperor as I hoped; as just, as blameless as I guaranteed; as dear and as welcome⁴² to the Roman People as I desired; fond of me to the height of my wishes, and eloquent to the height of your own. For now that you once begin to feel the wish again, to have lost the wish for a time proves to have been no set-back.⁴³ Indeed I see both of you becoming more eloquent every day, and I am elated as if I were still your master. For while I love and cherish all your merits, yet I confess that I derive my chief “and peculiar pleasure from your eloquence. Just as it is with parents, when in their children’s faces they discern their own lineaments, so it is with me when in the speeches of either of you I detect marks of my school — *and glad in her heart was Latona*:⁴⁴ for I cannot express in my own words the intensity of my joy. And do not feel compunction at the recollection, or be vexed in the least with the consciousness, of not having devoted yourself continuously to eloquence. For the fact is that, if a man endowed with great natural capacity has been from the first brought into and trained in the right way of eloquence, although he have given it the go-by for a time or rested on his oars, as soon as ever he resolves to make a fresh start and set forward, he will get to the end of his journey somewhat less quickly of course, but less successfully not a whit. But believe me when I say that, of all the men whom I have ever known, I have never met with any one gifted with richer ability than yourself: I used, indeed, to affirm this with an oath to the immense disagreement of our dear Victorinus and his immense disgust, when I said that he could not aspire to the charm of your natural gift. Then that friend of mine, the Roman Rusticus,⁴⁵ who would gladly surrender and sacrifice his life for your little finger, yet on the question of your natural ability gave way against his will and with a frown.

3. You had, Antoninus, but one danger to fear, and no one of outstanding ability can escape it — that you should limp in respect of copiousness and choiceness of words. For the greater the thoughts, the more difficult it is to clothe them in words, and no small labour is needed to prevent those stately thoughts being ill-clothed or unbecomingly draped or half-naked.

Do you remember that speech of yours,⁴⁶ which you delivered in the Senate when scarcely more than a boy, in which you made use of that simile

of a *leathern bottle* by way of illustration, and were much concerned lest you had employed an image little suited to the dignity of the place and of a senator? and that first rather long letter⁴⁷ I wrote to you, in which I drew the inference — and it is a true inference — that it is a mark of great abilities to encounter boldly the difficulties in thoughts of that kind, but that by your own application and some help from me you would attain what was needed therein, the command of luminous expression⁴⁸ to match such great thoughts. This you see has now come to pass, and although you have not always set every sail in pursuit of eloquence, yet you have held on your course with topsails and with oars, and as soon as ever necessity has forced you to spread all your canvas, you are easily distancing all devotees of eloquence like so many pinnaces and yachts.

4. I have been prompted to write this by your last letter,⁴⁹ in which you said that you were gradually forgetting all that you had learnt, but to me it seems that now more than ever is blossoming all that you have learnt and growing to maturity. Or do you fail to notice the eagerness, partiality, and pleasure with which the Senate and the Roman People listen to your speeches? And I go bail for it, the oftener they listen the more passionately will they love, so many and so ingratiating are the charms of your genius, your countenance, your voice, and your eloquence. In fact, is there one among former Emperors — I prefer to compare you with Emperors that I may not compare you with contemporaries — is there one who used these rhetorical figures which the Greeks call *σχήματα*?⁵⁰ Not to go further back, even at the last sitting of the Senate, when you spoke of the serious case of the Cyzicenes, you embellished your speech with a figure, which the Greeks call *παράλειψις*, in such a way that while waiving a point you yet mentioned it, and while mentioning it you yet waived it. In this speech many things at once call for praise: the first, that you most judiciously grasped the fact that the heavy trials of the allies should not be made too prominent by a continuous or direct or lengthy speech upon them, but should at the same time be pointed out with earnestness, so as to seem worthy of the compassion and help of the Senate; then you set forth the whole case so briefly, and yet so forcibly, that all that the subject demanded was summed up in the fewest words; so that not more suddenly or more violently was the city stirred by the earthquake⁵¹ than the minds of your hearers by your speech. Do you recognize the Ciceronian turn of the

sentence? — *so that not more suddenly or more violently was the city stirred by the earthquake than the minds of your hearers by your speech.* When a man is deeply in love he kisses even the moles on his beloved's cheek.

5. But believe me you now hold a most distinguished place in eloquence, and will ere long reach its very summit, and speak thence with us from higher ground, and not so much higher only as the Rostrum is than the Forum and the Comitium,⁵² but as much as the yards overtop the prow or rather the keel. But above all am I glad that you do not snatch up the first words that occur to you, but seek out the best. For this is the distinction between a first-rate orator and ordinary ones, that the others are readily content with good words, while the first-rate orator is not content with words merely good if better are to be obtained.

6. But I will either write to you or discuss these matters orally with you more fully at some fixed time and place. As you wished, my Lord, and as my health demanded, I have stayed at home and prayed for you that you might keep many happy returns of your children's birthdays.⁵³ The greater mildness of the weather and his nurse, if he takes more suitable food, will have quieted our little chick's⁵⁴ cough, for all remedies and all curatives for throat affections in children are centred in milk.⁵⁵

7. In your Cyzicus-speech, when invoking the Gods, you added *and if it be allowed, I adjure them*, a use of the word⁵⁶ which I do not remember to have read, for it was the people or a jury that used to be adjured or conjured; but perhaps my memory plays me false: do you think over it more carefully yourself.

8. I, too, am troubled with a cough, and pain in my right hand, not very severe it is true, but enough to prevent my *writing* so long a letter: therefore I have dictated it.

9. Since mention has been made of *paraleipsis*, I must not fail to acquaint you with what I have noticed with regard to this figure in a somewhat careful search. None of the Greek or Roman orators that I have read has used this figure more happily than M. Porcius in that speech which is entitled *On his Expenses*,⁵⁷ in which he says as follows:

I ordered the volume to be produced containing my speech on the subject of my having made an agreement with M. Cornelius. The tablets were produced: the services of my ancestors were read out: then was recited what I had done

for the state. The reading out of both these being finished, the speech went on as follows: “I have never either scattered my own money or that of the allies broadcast to gain popularity.” “Oh, don’t, don’t, I say, record that: they have no wish to hear it.” Then he read on: “Never have I set up officials in the towns of your allies to rob them of their goods, their wives, and the children” “Erase that too; they will not listen: go on reading.” “I have never divided booty or spoil taken from the enemy or prize money among my select friends so as to rob those who had won it.” “Erase as far as that too: they would rather hear anything than that; there is no need to read it.” “I have never granted a pass to travel post, to enable my friends to gain large sums by these warrants.” “Be quick, erase as far as that too most ‘particularly’”⁵⁸ “I have never shared the money for wine-largess between my retinue and friends, nor emiched them to the detriment of the state.” “Marry, erase as far as that down to the word.” Pray mark the pass to which the state has come, when I dare not now mention the very services I have done it, whereby I hoped to gain gratitude, lest it should bring odium upon me. So much has it become the fashion that a man may do ill with impunity, but not with impunity do well.

10. This form of *paraleipsis* is original and, as far as I know, not employed by anyone else. For Cato bids the tablets be read, and what is read he bids be waived aside. You also have shewn originality by beginning your speech with this figure, just as you will, I am sure, do many other original and brilliant things in your speeches, so great is your natural ability.

Fronto to Marcus Antoninus (?)⁵⁹

162 A.D.

To my Lord.

1. What you enjoin may perhaps be right, but it is too late: nor indeed does age also permit all that reason demands Would you make a swan in its dying song rival the cawing of crows? though it is out of keeping with my genius, would you advise me to strive against nature and swim, as they say, against the stream? What, if one called on Phidias to produce sportive works or Canachus images of Gods, or Calamis delicate statuary or Polycletus rough handiwork? What if one bade

Parrhasius paint rainbow hues or Apelles monochromes, or Nealces grand canvasses or Protogenes miniature⁶⁰ ones, or Nicias sombre pictures or Dionysius brilliant ones, or Euphranor subjects all licence or Pausias all austerity?

2. Among poets, who does not know how Lucilius is graceful,⁶¹ Albucius dry, Lucretius sublime, Pacuvius mediocre, Accius unequal, Ennius many-sided? History, too, has been written by Sallust symmetrically by Pictor without method, by Claudius pleasantly by Antias without charm, by Sisenna⁶² at length, by Cato with many words abreast by Caelius with words in single harness.⁶³ In harangue, again, Cato is savage, Gracchus violent, Tully copious, while at the bar Cato rages, Cicero triumphs, Gracchus riots, Calvus quarrels.

3. But perhaps you would make light of these Instances. What? have not philosophers themselves used different styles in their speaking? No one could be fuller in exposition than Zeno, more captious in argument than Socrates, more ready than Diogenes at denunciation; Heraclitus was obscure enough to mystify everything, Pythagoras wonderfully prone to give everything religious sanction with secret symbols, Clitomachus agnostic enough to call everything in question. What, pray, would your wisest of men themselves do, if called away from their own individual habits and principles — Socrates from arguing, Zeno from disputing, Diogenes from finding fault, Pythagoras from sanctioning anything, Heraclitus from wrapping anything in mystery, Clitomachus from calling anything in question?

4. But that we may not dwell on this first part longer than is compatible with the compass of a letter, it is time to consider first what is your view about words. Tell me then, pray, whether in your opinion the choicest words must be disdained and rejected, even if they come to me of their own accord, without any toil and pursuit of mine? or, while forbidding the searching out of choice words with toil and eagerness, do you at the same time bid me receive them like Menelaus at the banquet,⁶⁴ if only they come of their own accord, unbidden by me and uninvited? For to forbid that indeed is downright harsh and barbarous, It is as though from a host who welcomes you with Falernian wine, which being produced on his own estate is abundant at home, you should call for Cretan or Saguntine, to be got — bad cess to it! — from elsewhere and paid for. What Epictetus unconcerned Socrates

Xenophon Antisthenes Aeschines Plato Would they then not indicate this, if What in our own recollection of Euphrates,⁶⁵ Dio,⁶⁶ Timocrates, Athenodotus?⁶⁷ What of their master Musonius?⁶⁸ Were they not gifted with a supreme command of words, and famed as much for their eloquence as for their wisdom?⁶⁹

5. Or do you think that Epictetus did not use words of set purpose? would have preferred even a mantle foul with dirt to one that was white and spotlessly clean. Unless you think perchance that Epictetus became lame too of set purpose and of set purpose was born a slave. What then is it? So easily he never would have donned voluntary rags of words. Even a slave by accident he was of set purpose born a wise man. But so eloquence was divorced from soundness of feet⁷⁰

On Eloquence 1

? 162 A.D.

Fronto to Antoninus Augustus.

1 to distinguish between the place, rank, weight, age, and dignity of words, that they may not be put together absurdly in a speech, as it might be in a drunken and confused carouse; on what principles words are to be doubled and sometimes trebled, on occasion drawn up four deep, often carried to a fifth place⁷¹ or even extended further than that; that words be not heaped to no purpose or at random but be combined within fixed and intelligent limits.

2. When all these have been examined, tested, distinguished, defined, and understood, then from the whole word-population, so to speak, just as in war, when a legion has to be enrolled, we not only collect the volunteers but also search out the skulkers of military age, so when there is need of word-reinforcements, we must not only make use of the voluntary recruits that offer themselves, but fetch out the skulkers and hunt them up for service.

3. At this point too, as I think, we must seek skilfully to find out the methods by which words are sought for, that we may not wait gaping open-mouthed till such time as a word shall fall of itself upon our tongues like a god-send⁷² from heaven; but that we should know their haunts and their

coverts, so that, when we have need of choice words, we may follow them up along a beaten track rather than have no path to help us forward.

4. You must therefore scout over definite ground First of all a speaker must be on his guard against coining a new word like debased bronze, so that each several word may be both known by its age and delight by its freshness fortresses of words assembly-places of words Of obligations⁷³ the kinds are two, the categories three-fold. The first class, of existence, that a man be; the second, of quality, that he be such and such; the third, of objective, that he satisfy the very object by reason of which he undertook the foregoing obligations of learning and practising wisdom: by this third class, however, I mean that of objective and that which has its end in the work to be done and is, as it were, content with itself. By this division of obligations, if indeed either he⁷⁴ said what was true, or I carry correctly in my memory things heard long ago, for a man who aspires to wisdom those would count as the first things to be taken in hand which have to do with the preservation of life and health. So dining and bathing and anointing with oil and all functions of such a kind are obligations of the wise man. And yet neither at the baths can anyone lave himself with wisdom, nor when he has dined at table with a select company, and after the meal had occasion to vomit, will he bring up wisdom; but you can neither have life unless you eat, nor wisdom unless you live. What then is the warning here? that you should not think this business of wisdom to lie in dining and the pleasures of the table. The business of wisdom is not to eat, but apart from life, which is derived from food, there can be no wisdom and no pursuits. Now you see then that these primary obligations apply to all men but the second class of obligations which are suited to the character of each person, cannot be in the same way common to all. One kind of dinner is usual for the man at the wheel, and another off the whole chine of an ox for the prize-fighter; their times of dining are different, their washing is different, their sleeping, their keeping awake different.

5. Consider then whether in this second category of obligations be contained the pursuit of eloquence. For it falls to a Caesar to carry by persuasion necessary measures in the Senate, to address the people in a harangue on many important matters, to correct the inequities of the law, to despatch rescripts throughout the world, to take foreign kings to task, to

repress by edicts disorders among the allies, to praise their services, to crush the rebellious and to cow the proud. All these must assuredly be done by speech and writing. Will you not then cultivate an art, which you see must be of great use to you so often and in matters of such moment? Or do you imagine that it makes no difference with what words you bring about what can only be brought about by words? You are mistaken if you think that an opinion blurted out in the Senate in the language of Thersites would carry equal weight with a speech of Menelaus or Ulysses, whose looks, in the act of speaking and their mien and attitude and melodious voices and the difference of cadence in their oratory Homer did not in fact disdain to describe⁷⁵

6. Can anyone fear him whom he laughs at, or could anyone obey his order, whose words he despised? When Alexander the Great was discussing the art of painting in the studio of Apelles, *Hold your tongue*, said the painter, *about what you don't understand, that those boys yonder who are mixing the purple paint may not despise you*⁷⁶ There is no one, however authoritative, who when his skill is at fault is not looked down upon by him who has greater skill

7. You have achieved such great eloquence as is even more than enough for fame and hair, though it need not be daily set off with a pin, yet must daily be smoothed out with a comb⁷⁷ Croesus and Solon, Periander and Polycrates, Alcibiades in fine and Socrates.

8. Who doubts that a wise man is distinguished from an unwise man preeminently by his sagacity and choice of things and judgment, so that if there be an option and alternative between riches and poverty, though they are both of them devoid of vice and virtue, yet the choice between them is not devoid of praise or blame. For it is the special obligation of the wise man to choose rightly, and not wrongly put this first or that second.

9. If you ask me whether I covet good health, I should, if I were a philosopher, say no; for a wise man must not covet or desire anything which it may be he would covet in vain; nor will he covet anything which he sees to lie in the power of Fortune.⁷⁸ Yet were the choice of one or the other forced upon me, I would rather choose the fleetness of Achilles than the lameness of Philoctetes. A similar course must be kept in eloquence. You should, therefore, not covet it too much or too much disdain it: yet if a choice must be

made you would far and far prefer eloquence to dumbness.

10. I have heard you say sometimes, *But indeed, when I have said something rather brilliant, I feel gratified, and that is why I shun eloquence.* Why not rather correct and cure yourself of your self-gratification, instead of repudiating that which gratifies you. For acting as you now do, you are tying a poultice in the wrong place. What then? If you gratify yourself by giving just judgment, will you disown justice? If you gratify yourself by shewing some filial respect to your father, will you despise filial duty? You gratify yourself, when eloquent: chastize yourself then, but why chastize eloquence?

11. And yet Plato would tell you this and take you thus to task: *Perilous, young man, is that hasty avoidance of self-gratification, for the last cloak that wraps the follower after wisdom is the love of fame, that is the last to be discarded.*⁷⁹ to Plato, to Plato himself, I say, will fame be a cloak to his very last day.

This also I remember to have heard, that wise men must needs have many things — I mean in their mental rules and postulates — to which in practice they occasionally give the go-by; and occasionally also must needs allow in practice some things which they cry out upon in their tenets; and that the right rules of wisdom and the necessary practices of life do not everywhere coincide.

12. Suppose that you, O Caesar, succeed in attaining to the wisdom of Cleanthes or Zeno, yet against your will⁸⁰ you must put on the purple cloak, not the philosopher's mantle of coarse wool. Purple Cleanthes gained his livelihood by drawing water from a well; you have often to see that saffron-water is sprinkled broadcast and high in the theatre⁸¹ Diogenes the Cynic not only earned no money but took no care of what he had⁸²
.

13. What, will the Immortal Gods allow the Comitium and Rostra and tribunals, that echoed to the speeches of Cato and Gracchus and Cicero, to be hushed in this age of all others? the wide world, which was vocal when you received it, to become dumb by your doing? If one cut out the tongue of a single man, he would be deemed a monster; to cut eloquence out from the human race — do you think that a trivial crime? Do you rank the doer of this with Tereus and Lycurgus? and this Lycurgus, what evil deed pray did he

commit when he lopped the vines? It had surely been to the benefit of many a race and nation had the vine been extirpated from the face of the earth. Yet Lycurgus paid dear for his felled vines. Wherefore I hold that the extirpation of eloquence must fear vengeance from Heaven. For the vine is placed under the patronage of one God, while eloquence is the delight of many a denizen of Heaven — Minerva the mistress of speech, Mercury the controller of messages, Apollo the author of paeans, Liber the defender of dithyrambs, the Fauns inspirers of prophecies, Calliope the instructress of Homer, Homer the instructor of Ennius, and Sleep.⁸³

14. Again, if the study of philosophy were concerned with practice alone, I should wonder less at your despising words⁸⁴ so much. That you should, however, learn *horn-dilemmas*,⁸⁵ *heap-fallacies*,⁸⁶ *liar-syllogisms*,⁸⁷ verbal quibbles and entanglements,⁸⁸ while neglecting the cultivation of oratory, its dignity and majesty and charm and splendour — this shews that you prefer mere speaking to real speaking, a whisper and a mumble to a trumpet-note. Do you rank the words of Diodorus and Alexinus⁸⁹ higher than the words of Plato and Xenophon and Antisthenes? as though anyone with a passion for the stage should copy the acting of Tasurcus rather than Roscius; as though in swimming, were both possible, one would choose to take pattern by a frog rather than by a dolphin, and flit rather on the puny wings of quails than soar with the majesty of an eagle.

15. Where is that shrewdness of yours? where your discernment? Wake up and hear what Chrysippus himself prefers. Is he content to teach, to disclose the subject, to define, to explain? He is not content: but he amplifies as much as he can, he exaggerates, he forestalls objections, he repeats, he postpones, he harks back, he asks questions, describes, divides, introduces fictitious characters, puts his own words in another's mouth: those are the meanings of αὔξειν, διασκενάζειν, ἐξεργάζεσθαι, πάλιν, λέγειν, ἐπαναφέρειν, παράπτειν, προσωποποιεῖν.⁹⁰

16. Do you see that he handles almost all the weapons of the orator? Therefore if Chrysippus himself has shewn that these should be used, what more do I ask, unless it be that you should not employ the verbiage of the dialecticians but rather the eloquence of Plato? A sword must be used in fight against (opponents), but it matters much whether the blade be rusty or burnished Epictetus if he had dared, an epitaph⁹¹ . .

. carried through with the greatest credit If
anywhere a disciple of Anaxagoras not of the sycophant Alexinus⁹²
.

17. The tragedian Aesopus is said never to have put on a tragic mask
without setting it in front of him and studying it a long time that he might
conform his gestures and adapt his voice to the face of the mask
. or do you think it a greater task to write the tragedy *Amphiaraus*⁹³ than to
speak on the subject of an earthquake? you argue about a thunderbolt . . .
.

18. Philosophy will tell you what to say, Eloquence how to say it⁹⁴
For, using the language of dialecticians, a writer would speak of a Jove
signing, nay rather wheezing, not thundering. Provide yourself rather with
speech worthy of the thoughts you draw from philosophy, and the more noble
your thoughts, the more impressive will your utterance be. Nay, lift yourself
up and stand upright, and shake off with your strong top those tree-twisters
who are bending you down, like a fir or stately alder, and lowering you to the
level of stunted bushes, and make trial whether you have anywhere swerved
from the right way. But summon Eloquence, the handmaid of philosophy, and
cast away those crooked, twisted modes of speech which if you took
them in, you would despise, and ignore when you have despised them. Tell
me, I pray you, do you take anything in from your dialectics? are you proud of
taking in anything? You need not confess to me, but think it over with
yourself. I prophesy this, though you have kept many of your friends loyal to
this teaching

On Eloquence 2

? 162 A.D.

Fronto to Antoninus Augustus.

. in a field *previously trod by the foot of no
one*⁹⁵ save Gaius Sallustius alone, you brought to light in a most choice dress
and a most becoming setting a meaning hard to express and needing almost a
midwife's aid. You have given me joy, you have overjoyed me, may you be
preserved to me. In having this letter written by my secretary I have saved my

fingers from a heavy task,⁹⁶ as they are not at present to be trusted.

On Eloquence 3

? 162 A.D.

Fronto to Antoninus Augustus.

1. Neither a virgin that lisps may be chosen as a Vestal nor one that speaks indistinctly⁹⁷ Words descriptive of stammerers to be variously employed the utterance of stammerers is generally described as follows: an impeded utterance, a tied utterance, a laboured, a defective, an imperfect, a discordant utterance. The contraries of these have, I doubt not, already rewarded your search: a free utterance, a distinct, an easy, a perfect, a smooth utterance. Your utterance A survey of all the terms applied to indistinct speakers

2. The lovers of melodious utterance are said to have listened first to the birds in a shady covert. Next shepherds delighted themselves and their flocks with the newly-invented pipes. Pipes seemed far more melodious than birds . . . they take delight by way⁹⁸ of eloquence in the soft notes of mutterers. Anon they nevertheless put up with Ennius and Accius and Lucretius, resonant now with a fuller bass. But when the trumpet of Cato and Sallust and Tullius is heard upon the air, they are excited and affrighted and bethink them of flight, vainly, for even there in the teachings of Philosophy, where they think they have a safe refuge, the resonant periods of Plato will have to be heard.

3. This little story⁹⁹ applies to those who having no aptitude for it, shun eloquence in despair. But to you, O Caesar, if ever to man, has been given by the Gods a sublime and lofty and splendid genius; for your earliest thoughts and the infancy of your studies came under my ken. From the very first there was no hiding your nobility of mind and the dignity of your thoughts: they wanted then but one thing, the illumination of words: that too, we were providing by a varied course of study.

4. At this point, in the manner of the young and from a dislike of drudgery, you seem to have deserted the pursuit of eloquence, and to have turned aside after philosophy,¹⁰⁰ in which there is no exordium to be carefully elaborated, no marshalling of facts concisely and clearly and skilfully, no dividing of a

subject into heads, no arguments to be hunted for, no amplification to complete what is imperfect, to fill up gaps with padding this age requires a friend for counsel rather than for help to complete what is imperfect, to fill up a hiatus, to make rough places smooth

5. Were you not eager for all the resources of orators, their adroitness in refuting, their talent for amplifying, their charm in evasion, and I know not what kind of downright power and potency, that lies in speaking, of moving and delighting, of deterring and provoking, of exhorting, of conciliating, of inflaming, of calming the minds of hearers or alluring them?

Then if on occasion hindered by perpetual business you had no time to compose a speech, did you not fortify yourself with certain hurried yet valuable recreations in the way of study, by collecting synonyms, at times by searching out remarkable words? so as to turn the periods of old writers and their clauses by the system of synonyms¹⁰¹ ; to render refined what was vulgar, and fresh what was soiled, fit in some image, throw in a figure, embellish with a good old word, add a patina of age. If you despise all this only because you have learnt it, you will also despise philosophy in the learning.

6. But these are not things which you could despise: dislike them of course you might. As in old days a morose Crassus¹⁰² hated laughter, as in our time here a Crassus¹⁰³ hid from the daylight, and again in our time a man of consular rank had a horror of plains, and traversed the Pomptine plain and many other places with his litter closed But often even the wisest of men does not know how to speak in a style obviously new. But circumstances have so a well there would sound less vulgar thoughts unexpected, to others indeed new and previously unused. So much greater peril is there in thoughts if they are not qualified with figures of speech sparingly used. I can perhaps express my meaning more clearly in Greek words: τὰ καινὰ καὶ παράδοξα τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων¹⁰⁴ the book which you sent a scarce one. Know then that in this one point your eloquence limps, splendid as it is.

7. I warn you, therefore, again and again, my Marcus, and beseech you to remember, as often as you conceive in your mind a startling thought, think over it with yourself and turn and try it with various figures of speech and

dress it out in splendid words. For there is a danger that what is new to the hearers and unexpected may seem ridiculous unless it be embellished and made figurative.

8. All else in eloquence are for you smoothed and made clear. You know how to search out words, you know how to arrange them correctly when found, you know how to invest them with the genuine patina of antiquity, and you have an abundance of the weightiest and noblest thoughts . . . is the first essential; as soon as they have been exposed they are easily known and disregarded. In a word, you could see that the rhetorician is despised and of no account, while the dialecticians are courted and treated with every respect, because in their ratiocinations there is always something obscure and intricate, and hence it results that the disciple always hangs upon his master and is his slave, held fast bound with a kind of everlasting fetter.

Someone will say *You then, of course, beyond all others use choice and striking words*. Nay, I use common and old ones. What then? If I knew not that much, I should use words still worse.

On Eloquence 4

? 162 A.D.

Fronto to Antoninus Augustus.

1. Most things in your late speech, as far as the thoughts go, I consider were excellent, very few required alteration to the extent of a single word; some parts here and there were not sufficiently marked with novelty of expression.¹⁰⁵ I have thought it better to write to you on these points in detail, for so you will the more easily consider them separately and have time to look into them, being as you are busied with the actual discharge and wearied with the past performance of very many duties.

2. Well then I have written to tell you what I consider excellently said by you in your exordium, and what in my opinion needs alteration. Do not doubt that what I shall further write will be written in the spirit of my love for you. All the first part then is wonderfully fine, packed with many weighty thoughts, in which these stand out . . . in which kind Cato . . . if sparingly and with dignity . . . then follows a much weightier and austerer thought if . .

..... circumstances so compel the one word specific — *companion*, the other figurative — *artizan*. Nor is there any connexion or relationship between these words. The ear therefore is offended by the inherent contrast obtruded upon it Sallust says “and one who had also wasted his patrimony *manu ventre pene*.”¹⁰⁶ You see how much the writer has effected by the likeness in the form of the words, so that the last word though far from modest does not strike one as indecent: for the reason doubtless that two similar words precede it. But if on the other hand he had spoken the words thus: *quique pene bona patria laceraverat*, the obscenity attached to the words would be obvious must lack disposition and digression.

3. To be sure you would read a book to your philosopher;¹⁰⁷ listen in silence while your master explained it; shew by nods that you understood him; while others were reading, you would yourself mostly sleep; would hear reiterated at length and often *What is the first premiss? What is the second?* with windows wide open hear the point laboured, *If it is day, it is light*. Then you would take your departure without a care, as one who had nothing to think over or write up the whole night long, nothing to recite to a master, nothing to say by heart, no hunting up of words, no garniture of a single synonym, no parallel turning of Greek into our own tongue. Against them¹⁰⁸ too did my master Dionysius the Slender¹⁰⁹ indite a quite artistic apologue on a dispute between the *Vine and the Holm-oak tree*.

4. The vine vaunted herself above the holm-oak because she bore the most delicious of all fruits for the banquets of men and the altars of Osiris, alike sweet to eat and delightful to quaff. Then, again, she was arrayed with more care than queenly Cleopatra, with more taste than lovely Lais. So fair were her branches that from them were wound the thyrsus-wands for Liber, a garland for Silenus, and chaplets for the Nymphs and Maenads. But the holm-oak was rough, barren, unattractive, and never produced anything of any goodness or beauty except acorns Now I purposely end with fictions that, if I have said anything too severe, it may be softened down by being mingled with fictions.

To my Lord Verus Augustus.

. . . . I was so distressed in mind that I could not But on the receipt of your letter, the very fact that you had written with your own hand raised my hopes at the outset; then came your good news that after three days' fasting and a prompt and rather drastic letting of blood you had been freed from the risk of a threatened illness.¹¹⁰ So I breathed again and recovered and made my prayers at every hearth, altar, sacred grove and consecrated tree — for I was staying in the country. And now I am waiting to hear from your next letter how much the intervening days have done towards restoring your strength. For, indeed, much greater care and attention are required now, that you may fill your veins gradually and not be in too great a haste to repair your lost strength. For it is a belief verified and traditional that blood when in excess must be promptly drawn off, but must subsequently be regained by slow degrees.

I pray and beseech you, my Lord, take heed, as befits your eminent character, to be sparing and temperate and restrained¹¹¹ in all your desires which now, after the abstinence which you have practised on a necessary occasion, must necessarily make themselves felt more keenly and more importunately than usual.

Greet my Lord your brother,¹¹² whose health you will ensure if you are well. Farewell, most sweet Lord.

? 162 A.D.

Fronto to Velius Rufus Senex,¹¹³ greeting.

The figures in a speech are what most set off a speech. There are two kinds of figures, for there are verbal figures or figures of thought. Among the former are trope and metaphor.¹¹⁴ I employed this figure¹¹⁵ when I applied the word *slough* to a body in morass, everything rotting. What, however, escapes most people, I should know, that you, a strenuous man and a strong by training, and much more by nature

? 162 A.D.

Fronto to Praecilius Pompeianus,¹¹⁶ greeting.

You shall hear from me, my Pompeianus, the true state of the case; and I would ask you to accept it from me as the truth. It is nearly a year ago that I took that speech *For the Bithynians*¹¹⁷ in hand and set about revising it. I also made certain promises to you about the speech when you were in Rome at that time. And, indeed, if I remember rightly, when we were discussing the rhetorical heads of a speech, I claimed, and with some pride, that I had in that speech very thoroughly analyzed in argument and confuted the assumption which turned on the charge of murder by mandate. Meanwhile, a more than usually severe attack of neuritis came on, which proved to be more persistent and troublesome than usual. And I cannot pay any attention to writing or reading letters when my limbs are racked with pain; nor have I ever ventured to make such a demand upon my strength. When philosophers, those wondrous creatures, tell us that the wise man, even if shut up in the Bull of Phalaris,¹¹⁸ would still be happy, I could find it more easy to believe that he would be happy than that he would be able, while baking in the brass, to muse the while on an exordium or write pointed phrases.

Then when after a long interval I had recovered my health, I turned to other matters in preference. I took a dislike to that speech, and will not be ashamed to confess hatred and aversion So the speech has come back home to me after I had publicly disowned it, and taken up its abode with me again

? 162 A.D.

Fronto to Praecilius Pompeianus,¹¹⁹ greeting.

My very dear friend Pompeianus, read Venetus¹²⁰ is for sale. You know that it is the perpetual fate of Venetus to be always going, never gone He writes in answer that he has never received my letter

? 162 A.D.

Fronto to Claudius Julianus, greeting.

You have had then at home, my Naucellius,¹²¹ Our friendship has been

on such a footing that we could dispense with these conventional services, assured of the reality of our love With a friend I would wish all joys and sorrows shared it came to this that he was not only my dearest friend, but almost the single one who

? 162 A.D.

Fronto to Claudius Julianus, greeting.

I know not how it comes to pass all the provincials say; to do many things also more laboriously than the case itself requires: memoranda of the trials, lastly all letters which relate to the province. They will assist you that you should diligently perform all your duties treat the provincials with respect, that the saying of the classic ancients may be verified, that the same man can be both sportive and strenuous. Valerianus¹²²
. ; nor was our friend Valerianus able to see me. I desire not to be loved by our Lords the Emperors¹²³ on any other terms than that you too the partner of my body and mind should be included in their love: and such is their good nature I feel sure that this will be so.

While writing to you, I feel a little better. I am still indeed at this time after my most protracted ill-health, which in spite of care
. roughly handled, I delivered in the Senate was asked to repeat it. Be sure, my Naucellius, to take care of your health, that you may be strong when you come to us. Please God you will find me too a little stronger. Our friend Valerianus has told you the great blows, which from all (quarters) I have treated him more firmly than Stratonabia or Pyrallus. A linen covering .
.

Fronto to Marcus Antoninus as Emperor

162 A.D.

To my Lord.¹²⁴

. . . . that children of the earth, as the saying goes, or rather of the gutter, should snatch the booty: that so much wealth from the treasuries of Antoninus should be thrown away for that pampered protegee, whoever she is, to get, so

that Egatheus¹²⁵ will get nothing. What unfriendly comments however, what grumblings will arise, when the goods have been dispersed under the Falcidian Law? That celebrated string of pearls,¹²⁶ which everyone talks of, and all the other ornaments of such value, who will buy them? If your wife buys them, she. will be said to have pounced upon the spoil and snatched them away at a very small price, and that so much the less had come to the legatees under the will. But you will say Faustina will not buy these ornaments. Who then will buy the pearls, which were left to your daughters? You will rob the necks of your daughters of these pearls that they may grace whose goitred gorge may I ask?

Shall Matidia's inheritance not be taken up by you? Shall a most noble lady of the highest rank, of the greatest wealth, one who has deserved especially well of you, have thus died intestate? The precise result, therefore, will be, that you will have robbed of her will one to whom you have granted a public funeral. Hitherto in every cause without exception you have shewn yourself a just and weighty and righteous judge. Will you begin with your wife's case to give wrong judgment? Then will you indeed be like a fire, if you scorch those who are nearest and give light to those who are far off.¹²⁷

The Emperor Marcus Antoninus to Fronto

162 A.D.

Answer to my master.

So my master will now be my advocate also! Of a truth I can feel easy in my mind, when I have followed the two guides dearest to my heart, right reason and your opinion. God grant that whatever I do I may always do with your favourable endorsement, my master.

You see how late I am writing my answer to you. For after a consultation with my Friends up to this moment, I have carefully collected all the points which weighed with us, so as to write fully to my Lord,¹²⁸ and make him our assessor in this business also. Then only shall I have confidence in our decision, when it has been approved by him. The "speech¹²⁹ " in which you have advocated our cause, I will shew at once to Faustina, and will tender her thanks because as an outcome of that business it has been my lot to read such

a letter from you. Good master, best of masters, farewell.

162 A.D.

Fronto to Aufidius Victorinus his son-in-law.

At the time of the gold-test¹³⁰ . . . and to her Varian proteges of either sex she left a million sesterces¹³¹ apiece for them to enjoy as a life interest rather than for their own; for she directed that 50,000 sesterces¹³² apiece should be given them every year by the Empress. Almost all those who had paid her court lost their labour: not a pound apiece was weighed out to them. Some of them however, brisk and smart fellows without a doubt, had the effrontery, while Matidia lay unconscious, to seal up the codicils, which she had annulled a long while before. They had the effrontery also to uphold and defend these codicils before our Lord as duly and truly executed. And I have not been without apprehension that Philosophy might lead him to a wrong decision. That you may know what I wrote to him on the subject, I send you a copy of my letter.

In my Bithynian speech, part of which you write that you have read, there are many fresh things introduced, not inelegantly as I fancy, particularly a passage on my past life, which I think will please you. if you read that excellent speech on a similar subject in defence of P. Sulla left us by M. Tullius: not that you should compare us as equals, but that you should recognise how far my mediocre talent falls short of that man of unapproachable eloquence.

On Speeches

? 163 A.D.

Fronto to Antoninus Augustus.

1. . . . I will subjoin a few possibly unreasonable and unjust criticisms, for I will make you again have a taste of me as a master.¹³³ And you are aware that all this company of masters is more or less futile and fatuous — little enough of eloquence and of wisdom nought! You will I am sure bear with me for taking up anew my old-time authority and title of master.

2. For I confess, what is the fact, that only one thing could happen to cause any considerable set-back in my love for you, and that is, if you were to neglect eloquence. Yet indeed I would rather you neglected it than cultivated it in the wrong way. For as to that hybrid eloquence of the *catachanna*¹³⁴ type, grafted partly with Cato's pine-nuts,'¹³⁵ partly with the soft and hectic plums of Seneca, it ought in my judgment to be plucked up by the roots, nay, to use a Plautine expression, *by the roots of the roots*. I am aware that he is a man who abounds in thoughts, aye bubbles over with them; but I see his thoughts go trot-trot, nowhere keep on their course under the spur at a free gallop, nowhere shew fight, nowhere aim at sublimity: like Laberius, he fashions *wit-bolts*, or rather *wit-flashes*, rather than wit-sayings.

3. Do you then suppose that you could find weightier thoughts and on the same subject in your Annaeus than in Sergius? *But (in Sergius)*¹³⁶ *not so rhythmical*: I grant it; *nor so sprightly*: it is so; *nor with such a ring*: I do not deny it. But what, if the same meal be set before two persons, and the one take up the olives set on the table with his fingers, carry them to his open mouth, let them come between his teeth for mastication in the decent and proper manner, while the other throw his olives into the air, catch them in his mouth, and shew them when caught, like a juggler his pebbles, with the tips of his lips. Schoolboys of course would clap the feat and the guests be amused, but the one will have eaten his dinner decently, the other juggled with his lips.

You will say, there are certain things in his books cleverly expressed, some also with dignity. Yes, even little silver coins are sometimes found in sewers; are we on that account to contract for the cleaning of sewers?¹³⁷

4. The first and most objectionable defect in that style of speech is the repetition of the same thought under one dress and another, times without number. As actors, when they dance clad in mantles, with one and the same mantle represent a swan's tail, the tresses of Venus, a Fury's scourge, so these writers make up the same thought in a thousand ways, flourish it, alter it, disguise it, with the same lappet dance diverse dances, rub up one and the same thought oftener than girls their perfumed amber.

5. Has something to be said about fortune? You will find there the whole gallery of Fortunes, Fortunes of Antium, of Praeneste, Fortunes Regardant,¹³⁸ Fortunes too of baths, all Fortunes with wings, with wheels, with rudders.

One prelude of a poem¹³⁹ I will quote by way of example from a poet of

the same time and of the same name, an Annaeus like the other. In the first seven verses at the beginning of his poem he has done nothing but paraphrase the words *Wars worse than civil*. Count up the phrases in which he rings the changes on this — *and sanction granted to wrong: phrase number one; turning their conquering swords, in their own heart's blood to imbrue them:* here we have a second; *kin against kin embattled:* that will be a third; *guilt that was shared by all:* he tells off his fourth; *and standards set against standards:* he piles up a fifth to boot; *eagles with eagles snatched:* here's the sixth! why, this is a labour of Hercules; *and javelins poised against javelins:* a seventh! a bull's hide from the shield of Ajax. Wilt never be done, Annaeus? Or if no end or limit is ever to be kept, why not add *clarions also alike?* And you might go on, *and the well-known blare of the bugles*. Yes, and follow up with cuirasses and helmets and belts and all the paraphernalia of a soldier.

6. Apollonius, however — for Homer's openings are not equally skilful — Apollonius, I say, who wrote the *Argonautica*, describes five quite distinct facts explicitly in five lines: κλέα φωτῶν,¹⁴⁰ the heroes who sailed; οἷ Πόντοιο κατὰ στόμα, the route by which they sailed; βασιλῆος ἐφημοσύνη Πελῖας, at whose hest they sailed; χρυσεῖον μετὰ κῶας, on what quest they sailed; ἐύζυγον ἤλασαν Ἀργώ, the ship on which they were carried.

These writers, as well rhetoricians as poets, do just what harpers are wont to do, who dwell with many varied intonations on some single vowel from *Ino* or from *Aedon*.¹⁴¹

7. What shall I say of meanness and slovenliness in words? What of words rhythmically arranged and effeminately fluent? and from dislike regard with a critical eye this form of preciosity. In public speaking you have need to use the shield of Achilles, not wave a little targe or feint with the sham lances of the stage. Water gushes more daintily from little pipes than from the clouds

8. You spoke of *harmonizing eyes*.¹⁴² What applause, redoubled! for either word had been obviously sought after and found: and when you had found the word, you knew admirably how to use it with caution. Those who stammer¹⁴³ are said to have an impediment in their speech, and the contrary is the case with a speech free and unimpeded: much better clearly was your *tongue-untied*. And I think you have gone to that same passage for an expression “drawn from the contrary,” that, since the utterance of stammerers

is imperfect, it was possible to speak of a *perfect* utterance. That you should have been unaware of this when you said *harmonizing eyes* this passage is found fault with (because the word is of a varied) meaning: Theodorus calls it the “method from synonyms.”¹⁴⁴ For the Greeks express to *agree*, to *fit*, to *suit*, to *harmonize* by the term ἡρμόσθαι (to be adapted).

I do not doubt that you passed in review other words also. For as in him who squints the eyes are not of a match, you could have called them equal or unequal, these accordant, those discordant; but *harmonizing* was much better.

9. Perhaps you will say *what is there in my speeches new-fangled, what artificial, what obscure, what patched with purple, what inflated or corrupt?* Nothing as yet;¹⁴⁵ but I fear

10. I praise the Censor’s¹⁴⁶ act, who shut up the gaming nouses because he himself, as he said, when he passed that way could scarce consult his dignity so far as to refrain from dancing to the sound of the castanets or cymbals. Then besides there are many things in that kind of oratory¹⁴⁷ not unlike the genuine thing, if one does not look carefully into it. *Sanction granted to wrong*, says M. Annaeus; on the other hand Sallust: *all right rests with the stronger*.

11. A certain Gallic rhetorician,¹⁴⁸ while the Macedonians on Alexander’s death from disease were debating¹⁴⁹ whether they should utterly destroy Babylon also, says, *What if you hire lions to do your work?* Grandiosely too he¹⁵⁰ cries in his peroration, using the same word as Ennius, *By you citizens has been wrought, has been wrought a work unsurpassable*. It is the Tiber, O Tuscan,¹⁵¹ the Tiber that thou biddest be penned in: the river Tiber, master and monarch of all circumfluent waters;¹⁵² Ennius says: *’Twas wrought: after its flood now | stayed at the spot stood still that stream that is queen of all rivers, | which underneath the Ovilia¹⁵³ (flows).*

There is skill needed to distinguish a patched dress from a sound one. So the safest course is to eschew all such citations. It is easy to slip on the ice.

12. One edict of yours I remember to have noticed, in which you hazardously wrote what would be even unworthy of some faulty book. The edict begins: *That there should flourish on their holdings¹⁵⁴ unimpaired youth*. What is this, Marcus? What you wish to say is doubtless that you desire to see the Italian towns stocked with a plentiful supply of young men. What is florere doing in the first line and as the first word? What is meant by

*unimpaired*¹⁵⁵ youth? What is the object of these inversions and circumlocutions? Other faults of a similar kind are to be found in the same edict. Hark back rather to words that are suitable and appropriate and juicy with their own sap. The itch and the scurf are caught from books of that kind.¹⁵⁶ Cleave to the old mintage. Coins of lead and debased metal of every kind are oftener met with in our recent issues than in the archaic ones which are stamped with the names of Perperna or Trebanius¹⁵⁷ What then? Am I not to prefer for myself a coin of Antoninus or Commodus¹⁵⁸ or Pius? Those old words are stained and contaminated and discoloured and spotted, aye, more spotted than a nurse's apron. There is need, therefore, of all your pains to render your language, if possible, current coin; be ever on the look-out for some word, not one coined by you, for that, indeed, is an absurdity, but used by you more elegantly or more aptly or more happily than by others.¹⁵⁹

13. Says Sallust: *Such reverent regard*¹⁶⁰ *and affection did our ancestors have for the Italian race.* This word *antiquitas* is often used, but nowhere employed in that sense,¹⁶¹ and therefore is not properly correct. For it is commonly said that what is preferable is *antiquius*. Thence undoubtedly did Sallust derive his use of *antiquitas* itself; and, since a word that is less usual is also less clear, he interpreted it by means of the following word, *antiquitatis curaeque*.

In this way In the mouths of the people words of this kind have hitherto always been in vogue; Accius, Plautus, Sallust very often, even occasionally Cicero, (use them)

From Lucius Verus to Fronto

163 A.D.

To my master, greeting.

. . . . I have refrained from relating to you myself all that had necessarily to be set right or provided for in good time, or quickly remedied or carefully arranged.¹⁶² Make allowance for my scrupulosity, if shackled with urgent cares I have dealt first with the business in hand and, counting on your good-natured indulgence towards me, have meanwhile given up writing. Pardon my reliance on our love if I have fought shy of describing my measures in detail,

liable as they were to daily alteration and while the issue was still doubtful and all forecast precarious. Accept, I beseech you, the reason for so legitimate a delay. Why, then, write to others oftener than to you? To excuse myself shortly: because, in fact, did I not do so, they would be angry, you would forgive; they would give up writing, you would importune me; to them I rendered duty for duty, to you I owed love for love. Or would you wish me to write you also letters unwillingly, grumblingly, hurriedly, from necessity rather than from choice? Now why, you will say, not from choice? Because not even yet has anything been accomplished such as to make me wish to invite you to share in the joy. I did not care, I confess, to make one so very dear to me, and one whom I would wish to be always happy, a partner in anxieties which night and day made me utterly wretched,¹⁶³ and almost brought me to despair of success. Nor, indeed, did I care for the alternative, to feel one thing and utter another. What, Lucius to make pretences to Fronto! from whom I do not hesitate to say I have learnt simplicity and the love of truth far before the lesson of polite phrasing. Indeed, by the compact also, which has long subsisted between us, I think I am sufficiently qualified for receiving pardon. At all events, when in spite of repeated appeals from me you never wrote, I was sorry, by heaven, but, remembering our compact, not angry. Finally, why say more, that I seem not rather to justify myself than to entreat you? I have been in fault, I admit it; against the last person, too, that deserved it: that, too, I admit. But you must be better than I. I have suffered enough punishment, first in the very fact that I am conscious of my fault, then because, though face to face I could have won your pardon in a moment, I must now, separated as I am from you by such wide lands, be tortured with anxiety for so many intervening months until you get my letter and I get your answer back. I present to you as suppliants in my favour humanity herself, for even to offend is human, and it is man's peculiar privilege to pardon . . .¹⁶⁴

Fronto to Marcus

163 A.D.

To my Lord Antoninus Augustus.

I have seen your little chicks,¹⁶⁵ and a more welcome sight I shall never in

my life see, so like in features to you that nothing can be more like than the likeness. I have absolutely taken a journey by short cut quite to Lorium, a short cut of the slippery road, a short cut of the steep ascents: nevertheless I have seen you not only opposite to me but in more places than one,¹⁶⁶ whether I turned to the right hand or to the left. God be praised they have quite a healthy colour and strong lungs. One was holding a piece of white bread, like a little prince, the other a piece of black bread, quite in keeping with a philosopher's son. I beseech the Gods to bless the sower, bless the seed sown, bless the soil that bears a crop so true to stock. For even the sound of their little voices was so sweet, so winsome to my ear that I seemed, I know not how, to hear in the tiny piping¹⁶⁷ of either the clear and charming tones of your own utterance. Now therefore, if you do not take care, you will find me holding my head a good deal higher, for I have those whom I can love instead of you, not with eyes only but with ears also.

Marcus to Fronto

163 A.D.

To my master, greeting.

I saw my little sons, when you saw them; I saw you too, when I read your letter. I beseech you, my master, love me as you do love me; love me too even as you love those little ones of ours: I have not yet said all that I want to say: love me as you have loved me. The extraordinary delightfulness of your letter has led me to write this. For as to its style what can I say? except that you talk Latin while the rest of us talk neither Latin nor Greek. Write often, I pray you, to the Lord my brother. He especially wishes me to get this from you. His wishes, however, make me unreasonable and exacting. Farewell, my most delightful of masters. Give my love to your grandson.

Fronto to Marcus

163 A.D.

To my Lord Antoninus Augustus.

1. *First done, then entered*,¹⁶⁸ say they who keep their books carefully. The same saying is applicable to this letter, which now at last answers your recent one to me. The reason of the delay has been that, when I made up my mind to write, some things came into my mind, which could not be written down *beak in air*, as the saying is. Then intervened the sitting of the Senate, and the labour it entailed was felt the more heavily in that, being simultaneous with my joy, it had taken deeper hold of me, just as the wind when combined with the sun.¹⁶⁹ Now this letter, as it was not forthcoming at its due time, asks the indulgence usual in postponements, *that it be without prejudice*.

2. When I received your letter, I began my answer thus — *Love me as you do love me*, you say: I propose to answer this phrase somewhat less briefly. For I used to answer your letters more at length in those days when, as you yourself shew, you were sufficiently assured of my love for you. Look, I beseech you, that you do not rob yourself, and of your own accord demand a diminution of love, for I would have you believe that you are so much more fully loved by me now, as in all things a present certain fruition exceeds an uncertain hope in the future. Shall not I, who loved the native quality of your genius even then, when in bud and in leaf and in flower, love now far far more deeply the very fruit of your matured excellence? Then should I be deemed the most blockish of all country swains and all ploughmen, if I valued what was sown above what was harvested. I indeed, being granted all that I wished and prayed for, have been cast and fined in my very wishes and prayers: to meet that fine I put in my doubled love for you, not, as was the custom in old time for fines to be inflicted, at the rate of half less a thousand (asses).¹⁷⁰ A dry-nurse commonly loves a baby more than an older child; a foolish nurse is even prone to be angry with adolescence for taking away her boy from her arms and giving him over to the playground or the forum. Your instructors of youth too love their pupils more while they learn boyhood's lessons and pay their fees. When I was called to the care and cultivation of your natural powers, I hoped you would be what you now are; I carried my love on to these your present days. Conspicuous in your boyhood was your innate excellence; even more conspicuous was it in your youth; but in such a way as when a cloudless day begins to break with newly-dawning light. Now already your full excellence has risen with dazzling disc and spread its rays on every side: and yet you call me back to that bygone measure of my dawning love for

you, and bid the morning twilight shine at noonday! Hear, I pray you, how much enhanced beyond your former is your present excellence, that you may more easily understand how much larger a measure of love you deserve, while you cease to claim only as much.

3. To begin my comparison of yourself to yourself with your dutifulness, I will mention your bygone devotion to your father,¹⁷¹ and contrast it with your present attention to duty. Who does not know that, when your father was unwell, you used to discontinue baths in order to keep him company, deny yourself wine, even water and food; that you never studied your own convenience in the matter of sleep or waking or food or exercise, but sacrificed everything to your father's convenience?

Five Letters between Marcus and Fronto of which only the opening Words
Remain

163 A.D.

To my master, greeting. I have been unwell, my master

To my Lord Antoninus Augustus. It you can walk yet

To my master, greeting. I hasten to write, my master

To my Lord Antoninus Augustus. I will not hide from you

To my master, greeting. I, my master

Marcus Antoninus to Fronto

163 A.D.

To my master greeting.

. . . . since nothing is more to be counted upon and more readily given, my master, than the kindly construction you put upon our services in respect to yourself. Write then to my Lord,¹⁷² who promises you many letters in return, that you have received his message from me. Add also other tokens of your affection and good-nature, my master, for he rests on them, as he has every reason to do.

For the last two days I have had no respite except such sleep as I have got

at night: consequently I have had no time as yet to read your lengthy letter to my Lord, but I greedily look forward to an opportunity of doing so to-morrow. Farewell, my most delightful of masters. Love to your grandson.

Fronto to Lucius Verus

163 A.D.

To my Lord Verus Augustus, greeting.¹⁷³

1. From this moment, O Emperor, treat me as you please and as your feelings prompt you. Neglect me, or even despise me, in a word shew me no honour, put me, if you will, with the lowest. There is nothing you can do against me, however much in earnest you are, so harsh or unjust, that you should not be for me the source of the most abounding joys.

Perhaps you may think that it is your warlike qualities and your military achievements and strategy that I am now praising. True, they are most glorious for the state and Empire of the Roman people, none better or more magnificent, yet in rejoicing over them I but take my individual share of delight proportionably with others; but in the case of your eloquence, of which you gave such plain evidence in your despatch to the Senate, it is I who triumph indeed.

2. I have received, I have received, and I have and hold a full return from you in like measure heaped high: I can now depart this life with a joyous heart, richly recompensed for my labours and leaving behind me a mighty monument to my lasting fame. That I was your master all men either know or suppose or believe from your lips: indeed, I should be shy of claiming this honour for myself did you not yourselves both proclaim it: since you do proclaim it, it is not for me to deny it.

3. In your military glory and success you have many instruments, and many thousands of armed men called up from every nation under heaven spend themselves and lend their aid to win victory for you: but your supremacy in eloquence has been gained, I may make bold to say, under my leadership, O Caesar, and under my auspices Your answer to the Parthian king¹⁷⁴ was prompt and weighty. Of course you learnt this from your centurions or front-rankers, those truly polished disputants! Dausara and

Nicephorium and Artaxata¹⁷⁵ were taken by storm under your leadership and auspices, but that fortified and unconquered and impregnable citadel, which is planted in your brother's breast, against the assumption of the title *Armeniacus*,¹⁷⁶ which he had refused, who other than you assaulted, and you with what other weapons than those of eloquence? You called in as your ally in winning your way an army, but a vocal army fighting with words. In that part of your letter, as befitted a loving brother, your thoughts were more closely packed and took a tenderer cast, and you arranged your words more rhythmically. When I read them — for I was too unwell to be present in the Senate — and perceived your brother to be hard pressed by your eloquence, I thus apostrophized him in my unspoken thoughts: *What do you say to this, Antoninus? I see that you will have to take the title which you have declined, and retreat from your resolve. What is the use now of my letters, what of the letters of philosophers? We are outdone by a soldier's letter. Is there anything, think you, less than admirable in the writing? any unusual or unseasonable word? Or do I seem to you to have trained a vainglorious soldier? Nay, you have what you have asked for in ail your prayers, a brave brother, "a good man skilled in speaking."*¹⁷⁷ *He says the same things as you, but expresses them more concisely than you.*

4. At the very moment, when I was turning this over in my mind, following yours came the speech of Antoninus — Good heavens, how many admirable things, how many true! Every saying, every word quite fascinating, steeped in loyal affection and trust and love and longing. What then? which of both my two friends, the petitioner or the petitioned, should I praise the more? Antoninus with all his imperial power was complaisant, but you, Lucius, with all your complaisance, were for very love imperious. Carrying those two speeches in my right hand and my left, methought I was more honoured and more richly adorned than the priests of Eleusis carrying their torches, and kings holding sceptres in their hands, and the quindecimvirs opening the Sacred Books; and thus did I make my prayer to my ancestral¹⁷⁸ Gods: *O Jupiter Ammon, I beseech thee, Libya's God* some of the Gods also preferred to be worshipped as speaking rather than as silent the obstinate be inoculated with eloquence. Even the levin-bolt would lose half its terror did it not fall to the accompaniment of thunder. That very power of thundering was not committed to Father Dis or to Neptune or to the other

Gods, but to their sovran emperor Jove, that by the crashing of clouds and the roaring of storms, as by some voice from heaven, he might safeguard his supreme sovranity from contempt.

5. Therefore, if you seek a veritable sovran of the human race, it is your eloquence that is sovran, eloquence that sways men's minds. It inspires fear, wins love, is a spur to effort, puts shame to silence, exhorts to virtue, exposes vices, urges, soothes, teaches, consoles. In fine, I challenge boldly and on an old condition — give up eloquence and rule; give up making speeches in the Senate and subdue Armenia. Other leaders before you have subdued Armenia; but, by heaven, your single letter, your brother's single speech on you and your merits will be as regards fame more ennobling, and as regards posterity more talked of, than many a triumph of princes. The famous Ventidius,¹⁷⁹ when he had defeated and dispersed the Parthians, to proclaim his victory borrowed a speech from C. Sallustius; and Nerva commended his acts in the Senate with words requisitioned from others. Moreover, most of the emperors that preceded your progenitors were virtually dumb and inarticulate, and were no more able to speak of their military achievements than could their helmets.

6. When the Commonwealth had been transferred from yearly magistrates to C. Caesar and anon to Augustus, I perceive, indeed, that Caesar's gift of speech was that of an emperor,¹⁸⁰ while Augustus was, I think, master of but the dying elegance of his times and such charm as the Latin tongue still retained unimpaired, rather than of opulent diction. After Augustus a few relics only, withered already and decaying, were left over for the notorious Tiberius. But his successors without a break to Vespasian were all of such a kind as to make us no less ashamed of their speaking than disgusted with their characters and sorry for their acts.¹⁸¹

7. But should one say *yes, for they had not been taught*, why, then, did they bear rule? That they might exercise it, I presume, either by gestures, like actors, or with signs like the dumb, or through an interpreter like foreigners. Which of them could address people or Senate in a speech of his own? which draw up an edict or a rescript in his own words? They ruled but as the mouthpiece of others, like men in the phrensy of delirium: they were as pipes that are only vocal with another's breath.

8. Now sovranity is a word that connotes not only power but also speech, since the exercise of sovranity practically consists in bidding and forbidding. If

he did not praise good actions, if he did not blame evil doings, if he did not exhort to virtue, if he did not warn off from vice, a ruler would belie his name and be called sovran to no purpose to foist in a changeling was accounted abominable, to publish a false bulletin a military crime, to give false witness a capital offence

9 Hadrian's speech affects a spurious pretence of ancient eloquence¹⁸² Osiris of course I pass over the mule of eloquence:¹⁸³ he is labelled as no expert at the lyre

10. To many even unworthy sons the father's place has handed down the sovranity: just as chicks have all the marks of their kind present in them even from the egg, namely combs and feathers and crowing and wakeful ways, so for the sons of kings even in their mother's womb is supreme power destined: they receive the sovranity at the midwife's hand

11. Between Romulus and Remus, as they took the auguries on separate^ hills, birds decided the question of sovranity, and one of the Persian kings (is said in old days to have gained) the kingdom not by a race but by priority in the neighing of his horse.¹⁸⁴

12. We know that the plots and conspiracies of others have often deprived one man of his sovranity and handed it over to another. But eloquence when once found can neither be taken away, nor when taken away by death be transferred to another. With you your brother approves these deeds of Romulus

13. *Cato was already recovering Spain, Gracchus already farming Asia and parcelling Carthage out among individual settlers* Now, Marcus Tullius was the chiefest and supreme mouthpiece of the Roman tongue but Cicero more rhythmically:¹⁸⁵ both of you, aspiring to the charm of either, go the way that I guide you.

14. There are extant letters in both languages, partly written by actual leaders, partly composed by the writers of histories or annals, such as that most memorable letter in Thucydides of the general Nicias¹⁸⁶ sent from Sicily; also in Gaius Sallustius, the letter full of invective from Mithridates to Arsaces¹⁸⁷ the king, entreating his help; and the dignified despatch of Gnaeus Pompeius to the Senate touching his soldiers' pay;¹⁸⁸ and the recriminatory letter of Adherbal while treacherously beleaguered at Cirta;¹⁸⁹ but all, as the occasion required, short and without any description of events. In the style,

however, of your letter there is extant a despatch of Catulus, in which he has set forth in the historical manner his own exploits, chequered with losses and failure, as deserving of the laurel crown. But there is a touch of bombast in these high-flown periods, couched in words almost plaintive.¹⁹⁰ History, however, should rather be written in the grand style and, if written for the Senate, with restraint as well. If Asinius Pollio had thrown the jubilations of his *Counsels* into the form of a letter, in a style necessarily terser, readier, and more compact, even if here and there he did make some answer with a want of finish, he would have written better.¹⁹¹

15. Your letter is both eloquent, as being an orator's, strenuous, as being a general's, dignified, as to the Senate, and, as on a matter military, not overloaded. For neither What imperator, when it is his duty to say something to the Senate, would write a letter? You, having no opportunity (of speaking to them) . . . about which you had to write that he had given the kingdom of Armenia to Sohaemus¹⁹² rather than to Vologaesius; or that he had deprived Pacorus¹⁹³ of his kingdom; do you not wish this to be set forth in a speech after the manner in which Nepos on the Numantine affair described it in a letter so much less forcibly, thus: *in the above-mentioned war men drawn from all the nations of Spain were present*

16. The supremest eloquence is to speak of sublime things in the grand style, of homely things in simple language

17. Even Viriathus¹⁹⁴ and even Spartacus¹⁹⁵ were skilled in war and quick to strike. But indeed, if you wish to count up the full tale of all the orators, as many as have existed since the foundation of Rome, including those whom Cicero in his Brutus endowed wholesale with the franchise of eloquence, you will scarcely make up the number of three hundred all told, while from one family of the Fabii there fell fighting for their country in one day three hundred soldiers, the bravest of the brave. Not of races many thousands to the height of eloquence

where the subject calls for it or to speak on a matter in a lower key
.....

18. It was surely, Emperor, not the circus or the breastplate that instilled these wise ideas into you from your earliest boyhood, but books and training in letters. When you read many instances of this kind, fruitful of wise suggestion, in histories and speeches, you used eloquence as your mistress in the art of war.

19. The army you took over was demoralized with luxury and immorality¹⁹⁶ and prolonged idleness. The soldiers at Antioch¹⁹⁷ were wont to spend their time clapping actors, and were more often found in the nearest cafe-garden than in the ranks. Horses shaggy from neglect, but every hair plucked from their riders: a rare sight was a soldier with arm or leg hairy. Withal the men better clothed than armed, so much so that Pontius Laelianus,¹⁹⁸ a man of character and a disciplinarian of the old school, in some cases ripped up their cuirasses with his fingertips; he found horses saddled with cushions, and by his orders the little pommels on them were slit open and the down plucked from their pillions as from geese. Few of the soldiers could vault upon their steeds, the rest scrambled clumsily up by dint of heel or knee or ham; not many could make their spears hurtle, most tossed them like toy lances without verve and vigour. Gambling was rife in camp: sleep night-long, or, if a watch was kept, it was over the wine-cups.

20. By what disciplinary measures you were to break-in soldiers of this stamp and make them serviceable and strenuous did you not learn from the dourness of Hannibal, the stern discipline of Africanus, the exemplary methods of Metellus,¹⁹⁹ of which histories are full? This very precaution of yours, a lesson drawn from long study, not to engage the enemy in a pitched battle until you had seasoned your men with skirmishes and minor successes — did you not learn it from Cato, a man equally consummate as orator and as commander? I subjoin Cato's very words, in which you can detect the express counterpart of your measures: *Meanwhile I tested each separate squadron, maniple, cohort, to gauge its capabilities. By little combats I found out the calibre of each man: if a soldier had done gallant service I rewarded him handsomely, that others might have a mind to the same, and in my address to the soldiers I was profuse in his praise. Meanwhile I made a few encampments here and there, but when the season of the year came round, I*

*established winter quarters*²⁰⁰ . . . tradition tells us that Cato's bust used to be carried forth from the Senate: if by reason of his military exploits, why not the bust of Camillus? why not of Capitolinus? why not of Curius and other generals?

Fronto to Lucius Verus

163 A.D.

To my Lord Verus Augustus.

1. How great and long-standing is the intimacy which subsisted between me and Gavius Clarus is well known, I think, my Lord, to you. So often have I spoken of him from the fulness of my heart before you. Nor does it seem to me amiss to remind you of this, well as you remember it.

2. From his earliest years Gavius Clarus devoted himself to me as a personal friend, not only in those good offices with which a senator, lesser in age and rank, rightly honours and deserves well of another senator, higher in rank and older than himself. But gradually our friendship reached such a stage that, without dislike on his part or shame on mine, he could pay me the deference of a client, the respect that is shewn by faithful and diligent freedmen: this not from any arrogance on my part or servility on his, but our mutual affection and genuine love did away with any reluctance for either of us in the regulation of our duties. What need for me to mention his attention to my affairs in the forum, the least equally with the greatest; or at home, when I wished anything anywhere duly closed or sealed or attended to or completed, how I entrusted and confided it to him alone.

3. But, though my foster child would hardly shew such complaisance, he always devoted such attention to my health, was so unsparing, too, at all times of himself, that when I was sick he even sat up with me, and when rheumatism deprived me of the use of my hands he was wont to put the food to my mouth with his own hand. Lastly, I commissioned him to see to it that my body had its due rites, if in the absence of Victorinus and my good brother anything happened to me such as must to all men. Even if they should be on the spot, I wished my body to be handled by him rather than by any other, that my brother and my son-in-law might be spared the pain of touching my body.

4. These are the terms on which Gavius Clarus and I stand. Now, if my means were more ample, I would help him to the utmost of my power to enable him to discharge the duties of a senator in comfort, nor should I ever allow him to cross the sea on his present errand. As it is, both the moderate nature of my means²⁰¹ and his straitened circumstances have forced me to banish him against his will into Syria to secure the legacies which have come to him under the will of a very dear friend.

5. This want of means has been the lot of my friend Clarus from no fault of his own*, for he received no benefit from either his father's or his mother's estate; the only result of his being his father's heir was that he found difficulty in paying his father's creditors. But by economy and attention to duty and frugality he discharged all his obligations as quaestor, aedile, and praetor, and whereas your deified father paid out from your privy purse²⁰² the expenses of his praetorship in his absence, as soon as ever Clarus recovered his health and came back to Rome he paid in the whole amount to the imperial treasury.

6. Nothing can be more conscientious than the man, nothing more reasonable, nothing more unassuming; generous also, if I am any authority, and considering the slenderness of his resources as open-handed as his means permit. His characteristics, simplicity, continence, truthfulness, an honour plainly Roman, a warmth of affection,²⁰³ however, possibly not Roman, for there is nothing of which my whole life through I have seen less at Rome than a man unfeignedly φιλόστοργος. The reason why there is not even a word for this virtue in our language must, I imagine, be, that in reality no one at Rome has any warm affection.

7. This is the man, my Lord, whom I commend to you with the strongest appeal possible. If ever you have loved me, or wish ever to love me, I beg that you will befriend him whom I commit to your trust and protection. Perhaps you will ask what I wish you to do for him

Marcus Antoninus to Fronto

163 A.D.

To my master, greeting.

While enjoying this health-giving country air, I feel there is one great thing

lacking, the assurance that you also are in good health, my master. That you make good that defect is my prayer to the Gods. But this country holiday of mine saddled with state business is, in fact, your busy city life still. In a word I cannot go on with this very letter for a line or two owing to pressing duties, from which I enjoy a respite only for a part of the night. Farewell, my most delightful of masters. If you have any selected letters of Cicero, either entire or in extracts, lend me them or tell me which you think I ought particularly to read to improve my command of language.

Fronto to Marcus Antoninus

163 A.D.

To my Lord.

This is the fifth day since I have been seized with pain in all my limbs, but especially in my neck and groin. As far as I remember I have extracted from Cicero's letters only those passages in which there was some discussion about eloquence or philosophy or politics; besides, if there seemed to be any choice expression or striking word I have extracted it. Such of these as were by me for my own use I have sent to you. You might, if you think it worth while, have the three books, two to Brutus and one to Axius, copied and return them to me, as of these particular extracts I have made no copies. All Cicero's letters, however, should, I think, be read — in my opinion, even more than his speeches. There is nothing more perfect than Cicero's letters.

Fronto to Marcus Antoninus

163 A.D.

Fronto to my Lord.²⁰⁴

1. . . . a facility adapted to history, and not that restraint which is suitable for oratory; that these authors²⁰⁵ employed figures of speech also, which the Greeks call σχήματα, the former those which are in keeping with history, the latter with oratory; that Sallust made use of antithesis happily arranged: *greedy of another's wealth, lavish of his own; eloquence enough, too little*

wisdom;²⁰⁶ of word-echo, too, and that not ridiculous or trivial but judicious and in good taste: *expert in simulation and dissimulation*;²⁰⁷ that Tullius, however, made use of a most passionate figure, and one well known to orators, which grammarians call *epanaphora*²⁰⁸

2. *Who on occasion more delightful to our nobler men? Who more intimate with the baser? Who at times on the good side in politics? Who a fouler enemy to this state? Who more polluted in his pleasures? Who more enduring in his labours? Who more greedy in his rapacity? Who more lavish in his prodigality?* Even eight sentences in succession begin with the same word. Notice this also, if you will, and turn it over in your mind whether, compared to all the embellishment and passion, that neutral phrase — *to share what he had with all*²⁰⁹ — be not a blemish; for to me this seems a little too dry and commonplace.

3. After those passages of Tullius and Sallust on Catiline I thought it not wholly irrelevant to exhibit what L. Antonius says: *whom besides a veteran army a great part of the young men followed with eager enthusiasm*. Therefore, in using this figure you would do just what a painter, who had never tried to paint a horse

4. The sketch of Jugurtha is as follows:

*As soon as he grew up, endowed with bodily strength, a handsome person, but above all with a powerful intellect, he did not give himself up to the seductions of luxury and idleness, but, as is the way with that nation, rode, threw the dart, and challenged his peers in the race; and though he outstripped all in glory, yet was he a favourite with all. Besides he spent much time in the chase and was the first, or among the first, to strike the lion or other wild beasts, and doing the most he still said the least about himself.*²¹⁰ For Jugurtha, possessed as he was of a vigorous and eager character, when he came to know the temper of P. Scipio, who was then the Roman general, and the ways of the enemy rather than respected.²¹¹

5. The qualities of a general held in the highest honour
.

6. Nor must the sketch of the country be left out:

The sea is stormy and harbourless; the country fruitful in grain, good for cattle, but not kindly for trees; there is a scarcity of water from rain or springs. The inhabitants are healthy in body, active, inured to toil; the

*majority succumb to old age, unless they perish by violence or wild beasts, for disease seldom claims a victim. It must be added that noxious animals abound.*²¹²

7. Then he goes on as follows with no little skill:

*He turned his thoughts to Adherbal's kingdom: himself daring, warlike, but he whom he was to assail quiet, unwarlike, of a gentle disposition, at the mercy of any attack, the victim rather than the cause of fear.*²¹³

8. This of the consul's generalship:

*For our consul had many excellent endowments of body and mind, but avarice was a clog upon them all: he was inured to toils, enterprising in character, but wary enough, no novice in war, and undaunted in the face of danger and surprises.*²¹⁴

9. Then the demoralized soldiery:

*The army handed over to the general, Spurius Albinus the proconsul, was without energy or warlike spirit, inured neither to danger nor toil, quicker with a word than a blow, spoiler of the allies and itself the spoil of the enemy, kept in no obedience or discipline. So by their bad morale they brought their new commander more anxiety than they gave him support or confidence by their numbers.*²¹⁵

10. Growth of effeminacy:

For Albinus, dismayed by the disaster to his brother Aulus and his army, resolved not to stir out of his province for such time of summer campaigning as he was in command, and kept the soldiers for the most part in a stationary camp, except when the stench or want of forage compelled a move. But the camp was not fortified, nor regular watches posted according to the rules of war; the soldier absented himself from duty as he pleased. Camp-followers mingled with the soldiers and went in and out day and night, and wandered about robbing the countryside, forcing their way into the farmhouses, vying with one another in carrying off cattle and slaves, which they exchanged with the dealers for imported wine and other suchlike things; not content with this, they sold the state allowance of corn and bought bread for daily consumption: in a word, all the evil effects of idleness and luxury, which can be expressed or imagined, were to be met with in that army, and others besides. But in these difficult circumstances I find that Metellus proved himself a great and wise man no less than in the field, so just a mean did he keep between a pandering

to popularity and undue severity and in a short time he restored the discipline of the army.²¹⁶

11. Then a sketch of Marius:

*About the same time when Marius, who chanced to be at Utica, was sacrificing to the Gods, the diviner had announced that "great and wondrous things were presaged; let him therefore rely on the Gods and carry through what he had in mind: let him put fortune to the touch as often as he would; all would turn out well." Now, for a long time past Marius had been fired with an intense desire to be consul had not ventured to sue for the consulship.*²¹⁷

12.

*At the same time the consul, as though no duty was delegated, saw to everything himself, was present everywhere, giving praise, giving blame where due. Himself armed and alert, he forced his soldiers to be so likewise; and he shelved no less caution in fortifying camps and in posting at the gates a watch from the legionaries of the cohort, and in front of the camp from the auxiliary cavalry, than in making marches; he stationed others besides above the rampart in entrenchments, and went the rounds of the watch in person, not so much from any doubt that what he had ordered would be done, as that the soldiers might endure cheerfully toils which they saw shared by their leader: . . . conducted with dignity and success.*²¹⁸

13. But that is the sketch of a commander: listen to some things also in a more sensuous strain:

*Among these was Sempronia, who had done many deeds that often shewed the daring of a man. Here was a woman sufficiently happy in her birth and her beauty, not to mention in her husband and children; she was learned in Greek and Latin literature; she could sing and dance more attractively than was required by an honest woman; and there were many other things which minister to luxury. But she valued everything more than solicited by them.*²¹⁹

14. By these events the state was stirred to its depths, and the face of the city transformed for us: from the height of luxury and licentiousness, the outcome of a long-standing peace, all were suddenly seized with gloom; there was hurry, there was confusion, and no place, no person, was quite trusted; they were not at war, they were not enjoying peace; each man made his own alarm the measure of his danger. Moreover the women, unused to the fear of

*war, by reason of the greatness of the state, worried themselves, raised suppliant hands to heaven, bemoaned their little children, questioned everything, quaked at every rumour, snatched at every bit of news, and forgetting their pride and their pleasures, were despondent for themselves and their country.*²²⁰

15. Sketch of the insubordination of the people and their excesses:

*For in a state those who have no wealth of their own invariably envy the better classes, glorify the bad, hate what is old, hanker after change; from discontent with their own condition, they are eager for a revolution; disorder and public discord provide them with subsistence without any effort of their own, since poverty is easily maintained without loss.*²²¹

.....

? 164 A.D.

Fronto to Aufidius Victorinus, greeting.

Antoninus Aquila²²² is a learned man and an eloquent. But should you say, *Have you heard him declaim?* no, of a truth, I myself have not, but I take it in trust on the assurance of the most learned and honourable men and very dear friends of mine, who I am perfectly certain are both able to judge correctly, and bear witness to what they really think.

I would wish you, honoured son,²²³ to use your influence to get him an appointment as public instructor of youth in some state within your province.²²⁴ I ask this earnestly of you, for I would have favour shewn to Aquila for their sake who interest themselves so diligently in his behalf, and they would surely not so interest themselves for him, did they not think him worthy of such great interest; nor unless they greatly approved of his eloquence, would they make such a point of his being recommended to you, knowing you to be a most serious and competent judge as well of other things as especially of eloquence. I however have faith in the man's very name, shewing him to be the prince of orators, since indeed he is called Aquila.

? 164 A.D.

Fronto to Aufidius Victorinus his son-in-law, greeting.

The letter, honoured son, which The Gods, if we deserve it, will deal kindly with my daughter and your wife.²²⁵ that all may go well, and will bless our household with children and grandchildren, and will see to it that those, who have been and shall yet be born of you. shall be like you. Daily tiffs indeed and disagreements I have with our little Victorinus or our little Fronto. While you never ask any reward²²⁶ of any one for act or speech. your little Fronto prattles no word more readily or more constantly than this *Da* (*Give*). I on my part do my best to supply him with scraps of paper and little tablets, things which I wish him to want. Some signs, however, even of his grandfather's characteristics he does shew. He is very fond of grapes: it was the very first food he sucked down, and for whole days almost he did not cease licking a grape with his tongue or kissing it with his lips and mumbling it with his gums and amusing himself with it. He is also devoted to little birds; he delights in chickens, young pigeons, and sparrows. I have often heard from those who were my tutors and masters that I had from my earliest infancy a passion for such things. As for my penchant, however, for partridges in my old age, there is no one who knows me ever so slightly but is aware of that. For there is no deed or word of mine that I would wish to keep secret from others. Nay. whatever there be in my heart of hearts I would wish all others to know as well as myself

? 164 A.D.

Fronto to Aufidius Victorinus his son-in-law, greeting.²²⁷

I have had severe pain in the eyes No pain or lumbago in the side or back came on. The Greeks call the back-bone *ἱερὸν ὄστρον* (the sacred bone): Suetonius Tranquillus calls it the *sacred spine*. For my part I would gladly not know the Greek or Latin name of a single member, if I could only live without pain in it.

? 164 A.D.

Fronto to Arrius Antoninus,²²⁸ greeting.

. He has been brought to my notice by learned men and close friends of my own, whose personal wishes rightly have the greatest weight

with me. Therefore, if you love me, accord to Volumnius so much respect and opportunity of gaining your friendship, for very dear friends have enlisted my sympathy for him. Therefore I would ask you to welcome him with such kindly friendship as the great Achilles wished to shew, when he bid the son of Menoetius *mix the wine stronger*.²²⁹

? 164 A.D.

Fronto to Arrius Antoninus, greeting.²³⁰

1. Health to my honoured and most dear son! just as I listen with willing and welcoming ears to those who are loudest in praise of your words and deeds in the administration of your province, so, if anyone grumbles at all or carps at it, I give him a much more critical hearing and require every detail of your acts and decisions, as one who would safeguard your reputation and good name equally with my own.

2. Volumnius Serenus of Concordia,²³¹ if in what he tells me he has subtracted nothing from the truth, nor added anything to it, has every right and claim to my services as his advocate and intercessor before you. But if I seem to overstep the limits of a letter, the reason will be, that the facts of the case require some legal advocacy to be mixed up with the letter.

3. I will set forth the whole matter as Volumnius has stated it to me, and ask you at the same time as to each point, whether it is true.

Is it provided by the charter of the Colony of Concordia,²³¹ that no one be made a notary except he be eligible also for the office of municipal senator? Have they all been and are they all senators, who up till now have ever been given the post of notary public at Concordia?

Was Volumnius elected notary and senator by a resolution of the local senate? and has he made as many as four payments in respect of his senatorship?

Has he enjoyed for five and forty years all the rewards and privileges attaching to senators, at public banquets, in the senate-house, at shows? Has he dined, has he sat, has he voted as a senator?

In the case of public deputations has Volumnius been often chosen to be a deputy? Have his expenses as deputy always been voted to Volumnius from the public chest?

Again is there in the municipal registers record of a deputation on the corn supply undertaken by Volumnius at his own charges?

4. If all this that I have mentioned above has been so decreed, so paid, so done, how can you be in doubt after five and forty years whether he is a senator, who has been a notary, has paid in money in respect of his being senator, has enjoyed the privileges of being senator, has discharged its duties? And what is there, my son, what is there that you would wish more plainly proved? Since (has enjoyed) the privileges, paid-in moneys, discharged duties.

5. After these questions and answers of mine backwards and forwards, is it not also a begging of the question Volumnius has been accused of forcing his way into the senate illegally, since as a man temporarily banished he had no right to enter it; in that neither before his exile had he paid in all the money for his senatorship nor any since. When all this had been argued out in the lengthiest of proceedings, Lollius Urbicus,²³² after examining the case, made no decree against Volumnius; but in place of reckoned in proportion to the honour, I do not see

What again of the similar decision of our Emperors²³³ in the case of Isidorus Lysias? is branded with indelible infamy

The disgrace is not the same for a single man to receive the stigma of ignominy, as is the disgrace for a house full of children and grandchildren to be stained with infamy, for this bespattering with infamy defiles and disgraces many at once. Just as the loss is not the same in wars if a single horseman be cut down or a trireme be rammed

6. Many laws²³⁴ have fixed a penalty for cutting down “happy” trees.²³⁵ What is this happiness of a tree? Is it not flourishing and fruit-bearing branches laden with berries and fruit? No one ever called a reed, however tall, no one ever called a bamboo happy. Is it more right that fruits and berries should count as an honour and safeguard for trees than children and grandchildren for men? a troop of Roman cavalry, a part of the senate is dishonoured in the person of one man scarcely ever have so many men lost their lives physically by lightning as will lose theirs civilly by your decision

7. He, who has preferred being to seeming good, has enjoyed far from

prosperous fortune Certain it is that he who cares not to be thought virtuous does not care to be virtuous either Nor is there anyone who is greatly interested in acquiring the noble arts that is not interested to know whether he has acquired them but if he can grant a divorce and Gnaeus can be bereaved — that is what I doubt. For what is long can on occasion become longer, what is deep, deeper, what is numerous, more numerous. These and similar words I see admit of some latitude of increase, but nothing can become fuller than full. For surely if a cup be full, it would be useless to ask for it to be filled still more, unless you emptied some of it. For indeed, since in all business time is limited, and one time is closely associated with this business and another with that, consider in your own mind whether this case lacks the time for proving the point urged. Before that . . . he ought to have been elected senator by the senate: he was elected; when elected he ought to have exercised his rights: he did exercise them in many ways; after exercising them he ought to have paid in money by fixed instalments: he did pay this in four times; he ought to have discharged the duties of senatorship: he did discharge them; whatever is added to this will be a superfluity. For when the judge is not satisfied with what ought to be sufficient to convince, there is no limit to uncertainty. As for one who starts on the right road a journey has a fixed destination and limit, so for those who get off the path it is easier to roam than to get home

8. to have shut out from the senate *meanwhile*, in a case I will not call a good one — let us call it doubtful — a man of such advanced age, most kindly, most gentle, most learned, most dutiful.

That age,²³⁶ which is entitled to exemption from all duties, no law, if they are bound by a military oath on an old man past his seventieth year you inflict a signal stain, and when, I ask, is it to be effaced? For how brief is the life left him for shaking off his dishonour and looking forward to regaining his former rank. This that you call the *meanwhile*, how long can he expect to hope for it? If as long as he breathes, it will be but a brief time for hope. Who delays to put the sickle to the sun-browned cornfield? and who defers the vintage when the grapes are ripe and dropping their juice? Who in fact loses time when fruits are mellowing, flowers fading, and torches burning down? *Meanwhile* is a word that fits the rising sun, for the setting sun the

word is *at once*. Would that old age might put the old man off as you do Before youth, before manhood lies many a lengthy lap of life, just as days and nights may sometimes be long. Old age is a twilight that cannot last must be measured

9. Proculus²³⁷ that two years period for an old man whatever is meanwhile means but a mean while quashed the penalty and shortened the five years to three. For Proculus, a man of a disposition in all other respects easy-going and pleasure-loving, yet in passing sentence was, I think, a little too ready to punish, and too severe Many who have seemed in other matters far from taking things seriously, yet have been harsh on the bench, wishing no doubt to hide their real lack of severity under a cloak of ruthlessness put on for the purpose.

10. The two years then at last for Volumnius his children, grand children, son-in-law, and relations to be freed from infamy, for whom you will leave father and brothers at home. Relieve by your compassion an age which you know so well in your home and in your father and cancel that *meanwhile*. had paid all the money for his senatorship

? 164 A.D.

Fronto to Arrius Antoninus, greeting.²³⁸

I congratulate myself that for most men it is that I am looked up to by you quite as a parent. Consequently very many who desire your favour have recourse to me. I do not give them a hearing at haphazard and without circumspection, but I lend my support to those whose petition is honest. To those, however, who wish to obtain some dishonest advantage from you, I say *Impossible*. That Baburiana should rather from me men dear to me and I would most gladly oblige them, only so far however as is compatible above and before all with a regard for your justice It seemed in keeping with your humane disposition²³⁹ ; I took upon myself to commend Baburiana's wish to you, and I do commend it most heartily with regard to constructing the work

Baburiana bowed to your decision not resignedly only but even promptly and almost willingly What then does she ask which would not be worth your while to grant, and at the same time very much to Baburiana's interest to obtain payment of interest in accordance with your decision attached to the construction of the work
.....²⁴⁰

? 164 A.D.

Fronto to Passienus Rufus,²⁴¹ greeting.

Aemilius Pius²⁴² is endeared to me both by the refinement of his tastes and the absolute integrity of his character. I commend him to you, my brother. I am not unaware that hitherto we have not been on the terms of correspondents, though I have known of you through common friends as an excellent man and a lover of the noble arts, and you perhaps have heard me well spoken of. Yet I could find no fairer prospect of establishing a close friendship with you than the occasion of recommending to your favour an excellent young man. Love him, I beseech you: I ask this for his sake, but also for my own. For you will love me too the more, the more intimate with Pius you become. Pius knows all my heart, and how very much I desire to enter into close friendship with such men as yourself.

165 A.D.

Fronto to Avidius Cassius,²⁴³ greeting.

Junius Maximus the tribune, who brought the laurelled²⁴⁴ letter, not only discharged his public mission with despatch, but also his private duty towards you with friendship, so unfailingly did he appear everywhere as the eulogist of your labours and measures and industry and vigilance. Indeed, when he came to me in my villa near the city, when I was far from well, he never ceased till nightfall telling tale after tale of your expeditions and of the discipline which you had restored and maintained up to the ancient standard; then of your unremitting vigour on the march and unerring instinct for the right moment for battle. In very truth no soldier of Plautus²⁴⁵ so vaingloriously eulogized his own merits as he did yours, only that Plautus in the case of his

soldier spoke with pleasantry, while of you Maximus spoke with affection and the utmost loyalty. He deserves your love, and to profit by your patronage. Whatever you do to enhance the honour of your eulogist will redound to your own glory.

165 A.D.

Fronto to Fulvianus, greeting.

In the matter of letters when I was vigorous From my earliest days I have paid but fitful attention to this duty and almost neglected it; and if I mistake not, there is no man who has written to his friends or answered their letters less often than myself, nor anyone You have an opportunity of (sending) backwards and forwards to friends and companions nor do I think so, nor shall I ever complain. What then? Is not this often the case that one, who has long loved another, suddenly, whether from fickleness of character or by reason of the quantity of his new friends, gives up loving? You know that this has constantly occurred to quite a number of people, but not to persons of our type

Lucius Verus to Fronto

165 A.D.

To my master, greeting.

. . . they subjoined to their letters. What was done, however, after I had set out you can learn from the despatches sent me by the commanders entrusted with each business. Our friend Sallustius, now called Fulvianus, will provide you with copies of them. But that you may be able also to give the reasons for my measures, I will send you my own letters as well, in which all that had to be done is clearly set forth. But if you want some sort of pictures besides, you can get them from Fulvianus. And to bring you into closer touch with the reality, I have directed Avidius Cassius and Martius Verus to draw up some memoranda for me, which I will send you, and you will be quite able from them to gauge the character of the men and their capacity, but if you wish me

also to draw up a memorandum, instruct me as to the form of it which you prefer, and I will follow your directions. I am ready to fall in with any suggestions as long as my exploits are set in a bright light by you. Of course you will not overlook my speeches to the Senate and harangues to the army. I will send you also my parleys with the enemy. These will be of great assistance to you.

One thing I wish not indeed to point out to you — the pupil to his master — but to offer for your consideration, that you should dwell at length on the causes and early stages of the war, and especially our ill success in my absence. Do not be in a hurry to come to my share. Further, I think it essential to make quite clear the great superiority of the Parthians before my arrival, that the magnitude of my achievements may be manifest. Whether, then, you should give only a sketch of all this, as Thucydides did in his *Narrative of the Fifty Years War*,²⁴⁶ or go a little more deeply into the subject without however expatiating upon it, as you would upon mine in the sequel, it is for you to decide.

In short, my achievements, whatsoever their character, are no greater, of course, than they actually are, but they can be made to seem as great as you would have them seem.²⁴⁷

Fronto to Marcus Antoninus

165 A.D.

To my Lord Antoninus Augustus.²⁴⁸

..... and to the great exploits of your brother a history written in no perfunctory spirit would be likely to add some interest and celebrity, just as the blowing even of a light breeze can fan a fire however great.

As soon as your brother sends me his memoranda, I will undertake the writing of a full account, provided however that this, which I send as a foretaste, finds favour

Fronto to Lucius Verus.

1. these great exploits wrought by you such as Achilles himself would fain have wrought and Homer written I am quite afraid that through some novelty and unusualness . . . I shall have sung something not accordant with songs and measures . . .

2. Sallust . . . : *In fact their natural gifts, however rich, would have been of no avail had they not concerned themselves with the writing of their splendid achievements, and likewise were not their talents as writers on a par with the greatness of the deeds* The labours of Hercules famous, if not as facts also, (yet) by way of teaching . . .

3. Indeed for speech and action alike the reputation of Porcius Cato stands far the highest of all . . . Nature the mother of invention: in the equipment of ships God (supplied) the wings of a bird, for man to imitate them by having an eye on nature; the oar therefore is copied from nature . . .

So the acute Cato, worthy of being honoured with statues in every city, gives the Agrigentines ploughs. He shed light on the earliest history of man and the races of the Italian name and the origins of the Italian cities and the childhood of the first inhabitants This Xenophon served campaigns as a volunteer under Cyrus . . . All the leisure left to him from his campaigns he devoted to hunting

4. . . . The Empire of the Roman People was advanced beyond the hostile rivers²⁵⁰ by the Emperor Trajan To the lover silence is free and carries no blame. For all other mortals tell present-day lies, but the lies of writers deserve a reprobation as everlasting as their memory . . .
.....
.....

5. . . . The power of the Macedonians swelling like a torrent with mighty force in a brief day fell away to nothing: and their empire was extinguished in the lifetime of a single generation. For those portions which were held by the companions and friends of Alexander deserve the name of satrapies rather than of kingdoms . . .

6. Not one of them anywhere has a town or permanent dwelling or settled home: they owe their freedom to their poverty, for he who goes about to subjugate the poor gets but a barren return for his labour . . . wandering, roving, with no fixed goal of their march, the end of which depends not on

locality but on nightfall

7. (those nations whose) plundering raids have caused disasters I class as brigands rather than as enemies. The Parthians alone of mankind have sustained against the Roman People the role of enemy in a fashion never to be despised, as is sufficiently shewn, not only by the disaster to Crassus,²⁵¹ and the shameful flight of Antonius,²⁵² but by the slaughter of a general²⁵³ with his army, under the leadership even of Trajan, the stoutest of Emperors, and by the retreat, by no means unharassed or without loss, of that emperor as he retired to celebrate his triumph.

8. I will proceed then to compare with one another, in respect to the forces of either leader and either occasion, the two most memorable wars against the Parthians fought with like success in our time, not forgetting withal that the doughty deeds of the living are listened to in a more grudging, of the dead in a more generous, spirit; that the past are regarded with partiality, the present with envy. For as long as a man lives snarling envy is ever at his side
. As soon as ever the state called for a great leader, that is to say a man who was equal to the task before him, there appeared one who was more war-like than all the leaders reared in the needy homes of Arpinum²⁵⁴ or the hardy ways of Nursia²⁵⁵ Parthians stained with Roman blood
. an enemy of old, resolved and dangerous, and prepared to meet the Romans, trained in wars verily from ambush
when he was hurried headlong into daring any wicked deed, no crime more outrageous being now left for him to dare.

9. Then besides He set out for the war with tried soldiers who held the Parthian enemy in contempt, making light of the impact of their arrows compared with the gaping wounds inflicted by the scythes of the Dacians. Numbers of his soldiers would the emperor²⁵⁶ call each by his own name, aye, and by any humorous nickname of the camp. Those who hung back
. . . with a helmet decoration or bronze or partly by military custom payments proudly gained from spoils of the enemy such as, though victorious and celebrating triumphs, he had often grudged brave men, his generals (who had served him well).

10. Lucius had either to take new citizens by a levy for the Parthian war, or out of the reserve legionaries, demoralized by dull and lax service, choose the

stoutest men. For after the Emperor Trajan's time the armies were almost destitute of military training, Hadrian being energetic enough in mobilizing his friends and eloquently addressing his armies and generally in the appliances of war. Moreover he preferred to give up,²⁵⁷ rather than to hold with an army, the provinces which Trajan had taken in various wars, and which now required to be organized. Records of his progresses one can see set up in many a city of Asia and Europe, as well tombs²⁵⁸ built of stone as many others.

He made his way not only into frozen lands, but also into others of a southern situation, to the advantage of those provinces which, lying beyond the Euphrates and the Danube, Trajan had annexed to the Roman Empire with the hope that he could add them to Moesia and the province of Asia. These entire provinces, Dacia and the parts lost by the Parthians, Hadrian voluntarily restored. His armies in Asia he amused with "sallies" in the camp instead of with swords and shields: a general the like of him the army never afterwards saw.

11. The same devotion to peace is said to have withheld him from action absolutely justified, so that in his freedom from empty ambition he is clearly comparable in all the line of Roman Emperors to Numa alone.

Peace that the state should be governed by him
. . nor being enamoured of a new war against the Parthians, so by long unfamiliarity with fighting the Roman soldier was reduced to a cowardly condition. For as to all the arts of life, so especially to the business of war, is sloth fatal. It is of the greatest importance also for soldiers to experience the ups and downs of fortune, and to take strenuous exercise in the open.

12. The most demoralized of all, however, were the Syrian soldiers, mutinous, disobedient, seldom with their units, straying in front of their prescribed posts, roving about like scouts, tipsy from noon one day to the next, unused even to carrying their arms, and, as from dislike of toil they left off one arm after another, like skirmishers and slingers half naked. Apart from scandals of this kind, they had been so cowed by unsuccessful battles as to turn their backs at the first sight of the Parthians and to listen for the trumpet as the signal for flight.

13. This great decay in military discipline Lucius took in hand as the case demanded, setting up his own energy in the service as a pattern.²⁵⁹ Marching

in person at the head of his troops, he tired himself with trudging on foot quite as often as he rode on horseback; he made no more of the blazing sun than of a bright day; the choking dust he put up with like a mist; sweating under arms he minded as little as sweating at athletics; he left his head exposed to sun and shower and hail and snow, and unprotected even against missiles; he was careful to inspect the soldiers in the field, and go the round of the sick; he visited the soldiers' quarters with no unobservant eye; cast a casual but keen glance at the Syrians' dandy ways and the gaucheries of the Pannonians; from each man's manner of life he divined his character. After all his business done,²⁶⁰ he took a belated bath himself: his table plain, his food the common camp-fare; his drink the wine of the locality, the water of the season; he keeps the first watch easily, for the last he is awake long beforehand and waiting; work is more to his taste than leisure, and his leisure he misuses for work: time not required for military duties he devotes to civil business. In a sudden emergency he has utilized boughs on occasion or leaves by way of bedding, stretching himself at times on the turf as his couch. The sleep he took was earned by toil, not wooed with silence. The more serious misdemeanours only did he punish severely, the more trifling ones he knew how not to see: he left room for repentance. For many a man corrects his own faults, while he thinks them unperceived; when he sees that they are known, he brazens them out²⁶¹ through so many provinces, so many open dangers of sieges, battles, citadels, ports, and fortresses stormed, he lavished care and counsels, not luxuries, though he showered upon them a thousand spoils

14. Lucius in the skilfulness of his measures far superior knew that the mail-clad troops were like finny monsters, that diving headlong in the deep sea they escape to prance about on the wide champaign. Horses without firm footing on the slippery ground, hands numbed with cold, bows limp with the rain A few days before Lucius of his own accord had sent a letter to Vologaesius to put an end to the war by agreement, if he would; but the barbarian, while he spurned the offer of peace, paid dearly for it.

This fact shews clearly how much Lucius had the lives of his soldiers at heart, ready as he was to purchase a bloodless peace at the price of his own glory. With Trajan, as many judge from the rest of his ambitions, his own

glory was likely to have been dearer than the blood of his soldiers, for he often sent back disappointed the ambassadors of the Parthian king when they prayed for peace.

15. The reputation, too, of Lucius for justice and clemency²⁶² was unblemished among the barbarians. Trajan was not equally cleared in the eyes of all. No one had reason to repent having trusted his kingdom and fortunes to the good faith of Lucius: it is not easy to absolve Trajan from the murder of a suppliant king Parthamasirius.²⁶³ For though by being the first to appeal to violence, he brought his fate upon himself in the outbreak that ensued, yet it would have been better for the good name of the Romans had a suppliant departed unharmed than been punished even justly; for in such deeds the reason of the act lies hid, the act itself is before the eyes, and it is far better to pass by an injury and have public opinion on your side than to avenge one and have it against you.

16. In either Parthian war a man of consular rank, in either case commanding an army, was put to the sword: Severianus²⁶⁴ while Lucius had at the time not even left the city; Appius,²⁶⁵ however, while Trajan was present in the East making more stringent the ferry dues for camels and horses on the Euphrates and Tigris, was slain by Arbaces²⁶⁶ in rear of the Emperor.

17. This is also brought as a charge against both equally, that they sent for actors²⁶⁷ from Rome into Syria. But assuredly as we see the tallest trees shaken the more violently by the winds, so envy attacks the greatest merits the more vindictively. For the rest, whether Trajan is to be accounted more illustrious in war or peace for my part I leave undecided, only pointing out that even Spartacus and Viriathus had considerable ability in war, whereas for the arts of peace scarcely anyone has excelled if indeed anyone has equalled Trajan in popularity with the people. These very things are they not in the highest degree torches to these detractions? They seem to be based on the loftiest principles of political wisdom, that the Emperor did not neglect even actors and the other performers of the stage, the circus, or the amphitheatre, knowing as he did that the Roman People are held fast by two things above all, the corn-dole and the shows,²⁶⁸ that the success of a government depends on amusements as much as more serious things; neglect of serious matters entails the greater loss, neglect of amusements the greater discontent; food-largess is a weaker incentive than shows; by largesses of food only the

proletariat on the corn-register are conciliated singly and individually, whereas by the shows the whole populace is kept in good humour

 than conciliated by games and the customary pageantry of the shows. Therefore processions and couches and sacred chariots and spoils dedicated by our ancestors, elephants, urochs²⁶⁹ the Roman People has made use of shows the buzzing and predictions of many tongues. These things have been mentioned by me to refute detractors.

18. Lucius, however, himself, wherever anything had been done, wrote to the Senate despatches expressly composed to describe the state of affairs, as one who had the rehabilitation of eloquence deeply at heart
 . If any one reads the accounts side by side, as to whether the great-grandfather or the great-grandson shall appear to be first in merit, however the question of superiority be decided, the difference will only be a family matter.

Marcus Antoninus to Fronto

165 A.D.

To my master.

The Lord my brother desires that the speeches should be sent to him as soon as possible by me or by you. I should prefer, my master, for you to send them, and that you might have them ready at hand I have sent you the copies I have by me. I shall soon get others made which without the interposition of any great delay, will write me others. Farewell, my sweetest of masters. My love to your grandson.

Fronto to Marcus Antoninus

165 A.D.

To my Lord.

Meanwhile send me the speeches. In looking them through I will choose two to be sent to your brother.

165 A.D.

To my Lord.

It is in keeping with all your other kindness towards me that you wish me to oblige my Lord your brother by sending him the speeches which he asked for. I have taken the liberty of adding a third speech, that for Demostratus Petilianus,²⁷⁰ about which I have written to him as follows: *I have added the speech for Demostratus, but on submitting this to your brother²⁷¹ I learnt from him that Asclepiodotus, though he is taken to task in that speech, is not thought ill of by you. As soon as I was aware of this I did my best to have the speech suppressed. But it had already been circulated too widely to be called in. What is to be done next? What, I say, to be done, except that Asclepiodotus too since he has earned your appi obation, should become a veiy dear friend of mine also, just as by heaven Herodes and I are now on the lest of terms, in spite of the speech being extant.* Farewell, my most sweet Lord.

Marcus Antoninus to Fronto

165 A.D.

To my master, greeting.

I have just heard of your misfortune. Suffering anguish as I do when a single joint of yours aches, my master, what pain do you think I feel when it is your heart that aches? Under the shock of the news I could think of nothing else than to ask you to keep safe for me the sweetest of masters, in whom I find a greater solace for this life than you can find for your sorrow from any source.

I have not written with my own hand because after my bath in the evening even my hand was shaky. Farewell, my most delightful of masters.

On the loss of his Grandson²⁷²

165 A.D.

Fronto to Antoninus Augustus.

1. With many sorrows of this kind has Fortune afflicted me all my life long. For, not to mention my other calamities, I have lost five children under the most distressing circumstances possible to myself. For I lost all five separately, in every case an only child, suffering this series of bereavements in such a way that I never had a child born to me except while bereaved of another. So I always lost children without any left to console me and with my grief fresh upon me I begat others.

2. But I bore with more fortitude those woes by which I myself alone was racked. For my mind, struggling with my own grief, matched as in a single combat man to man, equal with equal, made a stout resistance. But no longer do I withstand a single or solitary opponent, for grief upon bitter grief is multiplied and I can no longer bear the consummation of my woes, but as my Victorinus weeps, I waste away, I melt away along with him. Often I even find fault with the immortal Gods and upbraid the Fates with reproaches.²⁷³

3. Victorinus, a man of entire affection, gentleness, sincerity, and blamelessness,²⁷⁴ a man, further, conspicuous for the noblest accomplishments to be thus afflicted by his son's most untimely death, was this in any sense just or fair? If Providence does govern the world, was this too rightly provided? If all human things are determined by Destiny, ought this to have been determined by Destiny? Shall there, then, be no distinction of fortunes between the good and the bad? Have the Gods, have the Destinies no power of discrimination as to what sort of man shall be robbed of his son? Some thoroughly vicious and abandoned wretch, who had far better himself never been born, rears his children safely and leaves them at his death to survive him.²⁷⁵ Victorinus, a blameless man, is bereaved of his darling son, and yet it would have been in the highest interests of the state that as many as possible of his kind should be born. Why Providence — out upon it! — if it provides unfairly? The Destinies, they say, are called so from the word “to destine”: is this to destine rightly? Now the poets assign to the Destinies distaris and threads. Surely no spinner would be so perverse and unskilful as to spin for her master's toga a heavy and knotty yarn, but for a slave's dress a fine and delicate one. For good men to be stricken with sorrow while the bad enjoy every domestic felicity — such a spinning performance by the Destinies I hold to be neither by weight nor rate.²⁷⁶

4. Unless maybe quite another error throws us out, and through ignorance of the facts we are coveting what is evil, as though it were to our advantage, and, on the other hand, turning away from what is good, as though it were to our harm,²⁷⁷ whereas death itself, which seems grievous to all, brings rest from toil and care and trouble, and freeing us from these most wretched fetters of the Lody transports us to those serene and delightful assemblies of souls where all joys are to be found. I would more readily believe that this is so than that all human things are governed either by no Providence or by one that acts unfairly.²⁷⁸

5. But it death be rather a matter for welcome than for mourning, the younger each one attains to it the happier must he be accounted and the greater favourite of the Gods,²⁷⁹ released as he will have been the sooner from the ills of the body, and the sooner called forth to inherit the privileges of an enfranchised soul. Yet all this, true though it be, makes little difference to us who long for our lost ones, nor does the immortality of souls bring us the slightest consolation, seeing that in this life we are bereft of our best-beloved ones. We miss the well-known gait, the voice, the features, the free air; we mourn over the pitiable face of the dead, the lips sealed, the eyes turned, the hue of life all fled. Be the immortality of the soul ever so established, that will be a theme for the disputations of philosophers, it will never assuage the yearning of a parent.

6. But however these things have been ordained from heaven, to me indeed, for whom death is so near, they can by no means bring any lasting perplexity. Whether we are annihilated for ever, as I once desired, at last I was unable for grief and tears. Now it is even my darling grandson, whom I am bringing up myself in my own bosom, it is he, indeed, who more and more rends and racks my heart. For in his lineaments I behold the other whom I have lost, I seem to see a copy of his face and fancy that I hear the very echo of his voice. This is the picture that my grief conjures up of itself. But not knowing the dead child's face I fret myself away with imagining what he was like.

7. My daughter will be reasonable, she will rest upon her husband's love, and he is the best of men. He will comfort her by mingling his tears and sighs with hers, by speaking when she speaks and being silent when she is silent. It will scarce befit me, her aged father, to comfort her; for it were more fitting

I have sent you a book which you can take as representing all my thoughts.

Fronto to Lucius Verus

165 A.D.

To my Lord Verus Augustus.

Worn out as I am with long-continued and more than usually distressing ill-health, and afflicted besides with the most distressing and almost uninterrupted sorrows, for in a very few months I have lost both the dearest of wives and a three-year-old grandson²⁸⁴ — though thus prostrated by these accumulated evils, I confess that I was nevertheless not a little cheered to learn that you had not forgotten me and wished for something of mine. I therefore send what my Lord your brother, acting upon your letter, has decided should be sent. I have added besides the speech for Demostratus, but on submitting this to your brother I learnt from him that Asclepiodotus, though he is taken to task in that speech, is not thought ill of by you. As soon as I was aware of this I was myself anxious to suppress the speech, but it had already been circulated too widely to be called in. What then? What then, I say, is best so be done, except that Asclepiodotus, since he has earned your approbation, should become to me also a very dear friend, just as by heaven Herodes and I are now on the best of terms, in spite of the speech being published. Besides your brother earnestly discussed with me what I am still more earnestly anxious to take in hand and, as soon as you send me your memoranda,²⁸⁵ I will take the task in hand with the best will in the world: for as to my qualifications, you who have judged me capable of it must see to that yourself.

Lucius Verus to Fronto

165 A.D.

To my master.

You are aware I am sure, my dearest master, even if I keep silence, how keenly I feel every trouble of yours however slight. But, indeed, since you

have lost simultaneously both a wife beloved through so many years, and a most sweet grandson, and you have known greater woes than I can dare to console my master for with well-turned words, but it is a father's part to pour forth a heart full of love and affection Now I will turn to the rest of your letter. I was delighted What do you ask, my master? what else at all do I more learned either ask or dream of

Fronto to Lucius Verus

166 A.D.

To my Lord Verus Augustus.

Although for a long while past with this ill-health of mine it has been pain and grief for me to live on, yet when I see you return with such great glory gained by your valour, I shall not have lived in vain, nor shall I be loth to live, whatever span of life remains for me. Farewell, my Lord, whom I miss so much. Greet your mother-in-law²⁸⁶ and your children.

Lucius Verus to Fronto

166 A.D.

To my master.

Why should I not picture to myself your joy, my master? Verily I seem to myself to see you hugging me tightly and kissing me many times affectionately

Fronto to Lucius Verus

166 A.D.

To my Lord Verus Augustus.

. . . ²⁸⁷ the honour would be missed, whereby equally everyone hankers after any honour bestowed on others. You gave me your approval and

applauded my advice, and yet for more than three or four days you could not prevail on yourself to answer me with the word *greeting*†; but you thought out this plan: first you bid me be admitted into your chamber: so you were able to give me a kiss without exciting anyone's jealousy, with this thought I suppose in your mind, that the privilege also of a kiss should belong to me, to whom you had entrusted the care and cultivation of your voice and speech, and that all masters of eloquence by innate right are wont to reap the reward lodged in the portals of the voice. In fine, I think that the custom of kissing was intended as an honour to eloquence. For why in greeting do we touch lips with lips rather than eyes with eyes or foreheads with foreheads or hands²⁸⁸ with hands — and yet these are more indispensable than anything else — if it be not as rendering an honour to speech? In fact, dumb animals being without speech are without kisses also. This privilege kept for me by you outweighs everything in my estimation. Many a time besides have I been sensible of the special honour which you have shewn me in word and deed. How often have you supported me with your hands, lifted me up when scarcely able to rise, and well-nigh carried me when hardly able to walk from bodily weakness!²⁸⁹ With what a cheerful and friendly countenance have you always accosted me! How readily engaged in conversation, how long continued it, how reluctantly concluded it! All which I value above measure. Just as in the inspection of entrails the smallest and most insignificant parts when laid open generally imply the greatest good-fortune, and by omens from ants and bees the greatest events are foretold, so by even the least and most trivial signs of deference and good-will, vouchsafed by the one and very Emperor, are signified, as I think, those things that are the most estimable and the most coveted among men, love and honour. Therefore all the favours I have had to ask from my Lord your brother I have preferred to ask and obtain through you.

? 166 A.D.

Fronto to Caelius Optatus,²⁹⁰ greeting.

There is a bond of the closest intimacy between Sardius Saturninus and myself through his sons, young men of the highest culture, whom I have constantly under my roof. I recommend him to you most cordially, my brother, and ask that, if any business bring him to you, you should judge as

worthy of all respect a man very dear to me, and should befriend him with all your power.

? 166 A.D.

Fronto to Petronius Mamertinus, greeting.

Sardius Saturninus has a son Sardius Lupus, a learned and eloquent man, introduced to the Forum from my hearth and home, instructed by me in all the noble arts, a most assiduous hearer and a very great admirer of yours, nor the less with Sardius Saturninus, you should count and love (as a member of) our (family).

? 166 A.D.

Fronto to Sardius Saturninus, greeting.

I have been unable to condole with you, while the wound was still fresh, in your most terrible affliction, being myself prostrated even up till now with a dangerous illness, at which very time, when I am worn out with the depression caused by many troubles, there has come the news of the loss of our young friend whom an unjust fate has torn away, from you the best of sons, from me the most delightful of housemates. Wherefore, though I am much better in health, yet sorrow cleaves to my heart and is intensified by the anguish of our Lupus, who feels dreadfully the loss of the best of brothers. Since it would not be easy to console you, even if you were present and talking with me, I feel how difficult it is to console you when absent by letter. And I do not ask you to cease grieving — for it would be useless to ask that — but to grieve with some moderation

? 166 A.D.

Fronto to Junius Maximus, greeting.

By our friend Ulpius²⁹¹ (this) eulogizer of your probity and dignity, whom I desire you to send back to me speedily. For there is no one with whom I am on such intimate terms, or with whom I am wont so much to share

my pursuits and love of the noble arts. He will be still more delightful to me when we exchange our mutual reminiscences and views of you.

? 166 A.D.

Fronto to Squilla Gallicanus, greeting.

Yours has been a happier lot,²⁹² my lord brother, for you have felt nervous for your son on the spot, than mine, who have had to endure my nervousness at home. For your nervousness was easily allayed with the completion of the pleading, while I did not cease to be nervous until all my pupil housemates had brought me news of the success with which our orator had conducted the case. And you, indeed, at each separate triumph of the speech, as each sentence evoked applause, were filled with joy, while I, sitting at home, was tortured with continuous anxiety, conscious as I was of the difficulties before the pleader, yet unable to share in the praises of his pleading. Then you carried away manifold advantages besides, for you not only heard, but also saw the performer, and were delighted not by his eloquence only, but by his look and gesture. For me, though I know what he said, yet I do not know how he said it He went down to the Forum noble by birth, he came back from it more noble by eloquence than by lineage

ENDNOTES

- ¹ On the Etrurian coast, twenty-four miles from Rome.
- ² Half-way to Alsium from Rome.
- ³ Probably his daughter Cornificia.
- ⁴ According to Plutarch, Cato preferred that statues of himself should be conspicuous by their absence.
- ⁵ Not mentioned again. He would most likely be the secretary or librarian of Marcus, possibly his anagnostes or reader.
- ⁶ This seems a punning reference to Quintus, the praenomen of Ennius.
- ⁷ The master of the rowers (something like our bo'sun) gave them the time by the beats of a hammer or baton.
- ⁸ The ager Faustianus was part of the Falernian district. Felix was a title of Faustus Sulla. Fronto is sarcastic in his allusion to Seneca, whom he disliked.
- ⁹ See Plutarch On Water Animals, xxxv.
- ¹⁰ Hor. Od. ii. x. 20.
- ¹¹ So Princ. Hist. ad fin..
- ¹² The choice spoils taken by a general from the general of the enemy slain in single combat.
- ¹³ The rape of the Sabine women.
- ¹⁴ So Diog. Laert. Chrys. 4. Horace (Odes, III. xxi. 11) says the same of Fronto's hero Cato.
- ¹⁵ Dio, lxxi. 6, § 1 (of Marcus), νεκτὸς ἔστιν ὅτε διάζων.
- ¹⁶ cp. Lucan, Phars. vii. 7 fl
- ¹⁷ Probably Cornificia.
- ¹⁸ A play on the word.

¹⁹ The Parthian war broke out soon after the death of Pius. Fronto is consoling Marcus for a disaster in Armenia, when Severianus the legatus and his legion were destroyed at Elegeia in 162 by the Parthians. See also Princ. Hist. ad fin.

²⁰ July 16, 390 B.C.

²¹ 321 B.C.

²² Aug. 2, 216 B.C.

²³ 138 B.C.

²⁴ Apparently the defeat of Albinus in 109 B.C. is meant.

²⁵ 52 B.C.

²⁶ Longinus; see Dio, lxxviii. 12.

²⁷ Maximus; see *ibid.* lxxviii. 30, and below, Princ. Hist. ad fin.

²⁸ See Dio, lxxix. 14.

²⁹ Not recorded elsewhere; but see Spart. Vit. Hadr. 5.

³⁰ The Marsians were supposed to have power over snakes: see Pliny, N.H. vii. 2; xxv. 5.

³¹ In this gap (Ambr. 231) there was a reference to the Parthians, as we see from a marginal note.

³² Trajan (?).

³³ Tyrant of Samos, who died 522 B.C.

³⁴ Periander, the tyrant of Corinth, had a similar dream, and Artemidorus (a writer of the time of Marcus), *On Dreams*, 4, said it signified great honours and riches.

³⁵ He quotes Marcus's own phrase (see above, *Ad Anton.* ii. 1) in the letter from Minturnae (probably), where Marcus was trying to get a little respite from the anxieties caused by the Parthian invasion of Roman provinces and the disaster at Elegeia.

³⁶ Cicero quotes this work (*Brutus*, 72) as meaning *De ratione Latine loquendi*. Caesar wrote it while crossing the Alps on his way from his winter quarters at Luca, in north Italy, to the

seat of war in Gaul.

³⁷ Surely the Pro Lege Manilia; but Mai refers it to a speech on the Mithridatic War.

³⁸ Hor. Od. iv. xi. 17.

³⁹ Victorinus, who married Gratia about 160.

⁴⁰ Antoninus (Geminus) and Lucius Aurelius Commodus, afterwards emperor, were born on Aug. 31, 161. The former died four years later.

⁴¹ The daughter of Marcus.

⁴² So Melito in his Apology (Eus. H.E. iv. 26, § 7) calls him εὐκταῖος.

⁴³ About the year 146 Marcus devoted himself more exclusively to philosophy and neglected rhetoric (see Ad Mar. iv. 13, i. p. 216). Later he eschewed it entirely; see Thoughts, i. 7; i. 17, § 4. But there was rhetoric in his writings, and Dio, lxxi. 35, § 1, says he was “practised in rhetoric.”

⁴⁴ Hom. Od. vi. 106 = Verg. Aen. i. 502.

⁴⁵ About this time Consul II. and praef. urbi. For Marcus’s relations with him see Thoughts, i. 17, §§ 4, 6. Soon after this letter was written he condemned Justin Martyr and his companions to death as Christians.

⁴⁶ Perhaps when he entered the Senate as quaestor, but very possibly his Caesar-speech. See i. p. 19.

⁴⁷ The letter printed first in this edition: cp. the reference to audocia.

⁴⁸ cp. De Eloqu. iii. below.

⁴⁹ This letter is not in the collection, but cp. i. p. 39.

⁵⁰ These are the technical figures of rhetoric, whether of language, such as alliteration, antithesis, etc., or of thought, such as παράλειψις (= a passing by) here.

⁵¹ The earthquake at Cyzicus is apparently alluded to again in the De Eloquentia 1 ad fin. It has a bearing on the date of the disputed Letter to the Commune of Asia relative to the Christians (Euseb. H.E. iv. 13; Justin, Apol. i. ad fin.).

- ⁵² Adjoining the Forum. It was where the Romans voted by Curiae.
- ⁵³ He is referring to Cornificia's birthday.
- ⁵⁴ i.e. Antoninus Geminus, see last letter.
- ⁵⁵ See Aul. Gell xii. 1.
- ⁵⁶ Plautus uses it (Rud. III. iii. 32) of supplication to Venus, and Festus defines it as *opem a sacris petere*.
- ⁵⁷ Nothing more is known of this speech.
- ⁵⁸ Or, "as quickly as possible."
- ⁵⁹ The heading and title to this letter are lost, and its attribution is not certain. It reads like a letter to Marcus. Naber, following Mai, assigns it to Verus.
- ⁶⁰ Hauler says this refers to detailed work and not to size.
- ⁶¹ Aul. Gell. vii. 14, defines *gracilis* of style as combining *venustas* and *subtilitas* (= Greek *ισχνός*), and says Varro attributed *gracilitas* to Lucilius.
- ⁶² As the names go in pairs, the contrast to *Sisenna* must have dropped out, and *longinque* may belong to his *vis-à-vis*.
- ⁶³ For Cato's trick of using *atque* . . . *atque* see i. p. 152.
- ⁶⁴ Hom. Il. ii. 408.
- ⁶⁵ A Stoic philosopher friend of Pliny the younger. He committed suicide under Hadrian.
- ⁶⁶ Of Prusa, called "Golden-mouthed," orator and philosopher. He died about 117.
- ⁶⁷ Fronto's master.
- ⁶⁸ A Stoic philosopher under Nero and Vespasian.
- ⁶⁹ All this was surely addressed to Marcus and not Verus.
- ⁷⁰ Epictetus, it is said, was made lame by the cruelty of his master, Epaphroditus.

⁷¹ See for an illustration the first two lines of § 2, and cp. last letter, § 2, *verba multiiuga*.

⁷² The palladium was a supposed image of Pallas that fell from the sky at Troy and was carried off by the Greeks.

⁷³ In this mutilated passage Fronto is speaking of *sapientia* and *eloquentia* in connexion with a classification of human functions. The *officia*, or essential functions of man are, he says, of two genera, and can be classified under three heads (*rationes* or *species*). The distinction of the two genera is not given in what we have. The three classes are (1) that of existence, that a man must exist and perform certain *munera*, e.g. eat, in order to live; (2) of quality, he must be such and such and have such and such habits and idiosyncrasies; (3) of objective or result, the two previous *officia* enabling him to discharge the third. This third class is concerned wholly with *negotia*, work done, and is self-contained. Under this comes *sapientia*. Since a man must live before he can be wise, a *munus*, like eating, is an *officium* of the wise man, though it has no direct connexion with his *negotium*, which is wisdom. Eating belongs to *specis prima*, which is common to all men, but wisdom to *species tertia*. The pursuit of eloquence comes under *species secunda*, which varies with every man.

⁷⁴ Probably one of Fronto's teachers, e.g. Dionysius or Athenodotus, who must have been mentioned in a lost part of the letter.

⁷⁵ Hom. Il. iii. 212.

⁷⁶ Pliny gives the story, N.H. xxxv. 36, § 12.

⁷⁷ This seems to imply that Marcus's eloquence, great as it is, still requires brushing and trimming up.

⁷⁸ cp. Marcus, *Thoughts*, vi. 41, etc.

⁷⁹ "The last infirmity of noble mind": see Plato (ap. Athen. xi. 507 D), ἔσχατον τὸν τῆς δόξης χιτῶνα• ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτῷ ἀποδύμεθα. cp. also Tac. Agr. 9.; Hist. iv. 6; Plat. An Seni, etc., 783 d; Lucian, Peregr. 38.

⁸⁰ See Capit. Vit. Mar. v. 3, and Marcus, *Thoughts*, v. 16; vi. 12.

⁸¹ For this custom see Pliny, N.H. xxi. 6.

⁸² This may have been followed by some such sentence as "but you will have to provide for the finances of the state and see that they are husbanded."

⁸³ See i. p. 94, and cp. Hor. Ep. II. i. 52, *somnia Pythagorea*.

⁸⁴ It is by no means clear that Marcus despised words, but he did despise dialectics; see Thoughts, i. 7; vii. 67; viii. 1.

⁸⁵ “Have you lost your horns?” If “yes,” then you had horns; if “no,” then you still have them.

⁸⁶ “How many grains make a heap?” Do two, or three, or what exact number? As heap is an indefinite term, the answer cannot be given in any definite number of grains. See Hor. Ep. II. i. 47, *Elusus ratione ruentis acervi*.

⁸⁷ “If a man says he is lying, is he lying or speaking the truth?”

For these fallacies see Diog. Laert. Euclides, iv., and Zeller, *Socrates*, ch. xii.

⁸⁸ Lit. twisted, or intricate, and entangling.

⁸⁹ A captious disputant who made use of the horn-dilemma. Cicero mentions him with Diodorus, and speaks of his *contorta sophismata*. See next page.

⁹⁰ These words mean to amplify, divide, treat fully, recapitulate, hark back, make the application, introduce characters.

⁹¹ The epitaph of Epictetus was: I Epictetus was by name | Who now lie here, | As I was poor, a slave, and lame | And to the Immortals dear.

⁹² i.e. Pericles. See Cic. *De Orat.* iii. 34; *Orat.* iv. 15.

⁹³ He was swallowed up by an earthquake, while trying to escape from the disastrous expedition against Thebes. There seems to be a reference to the Cyzicus earthquake in 162.

⁹⁴ The position of this sentence is not certain. Braknmn says it comes two sentences lower down.

⁹⁵ *Lucr.* i. 925.

⁹⁶ A great part of this letter has obviously been lost.

⁹⁷ See Aulus Gellius, i. 12. This paragraph seems rather out of place. It has much affinity with the similar passage in *De Orationibus*, ad. med. below.

⁹⁸ Reading *luco*, we must translate “of whisperers, or warblers, in the grove of eloquence.”

⁹⁹ The evolution of eloquence just given.

¹⁰⁰ See i. p. 217, Ad M. Caes. iv. 13, and cp. Thoughts, i. 7 and 17, §4.

¹⁰¹ i.e. apparently paraphrasing old writers by using synonymous but more striking expressions.

¹⁰² The grandfather of Crassus the triumvir, called ἀγέλαστος.

¹⁰³ Probably Crassus Frugi, Spart. Vit. Hadr. 5.

¹⁰⁴ “New and startling thoughts.” Fronto urges Marcus to aim at striking and unconventional ideas, but to be careful that they should be toned down by their setting, so as not to strike the hearers as bizarre.

¹⁰⁵ Professor Mackail takes this to mean the “new Latin” style introduced by Fronto.

¹⁰⁶ Catil. 14.

¹⁰⁷ Fronto is making fun of the dialectic method of teaching contrasted with the rhetorical.

¹⁰⁸ The dialecticians.

¹⁰⁹ He was called λεπτός (see Athen. xi. 7), and also ἀσκάλαφος, from a line in Homer (Il. ii. 512) which he often quoted.

¹¹⁰ Capit. (Vit. Veri, 6) tells us that Verus, while on his way to Asia for the Parthian war, was taken ill at Canusium. It appears that he narrowly escaped having a stroke, such as caused his death in January, 169, at the age of thirty-nine.

¹¹¹ If Capit. (Vit. Ver. 6, § 7) is to be trusted, there was much need of this exhortation.

¹¹² Marcus hurried to Canusium to see him; see Capit. *ibid*.

¹¹³ Nothing more is certainly known of him.

¹¹⁴ Cicero (Brut. 17), following Greek precedent, separated tropes from figures. We use trope for the metaphorical use of a word.

¹¹⁵ Perhaps in the speech Pro Bithynis mentioned below.

¹¹⁶ Nothing is known for certain about him. He was possibly a fellow-countryman of Fronto's from Cirta.

- ¹¹⁷ Nothing more is known of this speech beyond what Fronto tells us.
- ¹¹⁸ A commonplace of the orators. See Cic. Tusc. ii. 7; Seneca, Ep. 66, etc.
- ¹¹⁹ There was another letter to him in this collection (Naber, p. 172), but only the opening words remain (from the Index, as read by Hauler, Wien. Stud. 33, pt. 1, p. 175): *Labris cius labra fovi*, I kissed him lip to lip.
- ¹²⁰ *Venetus* may be a proper name, or = *Venetianus* (i.e. a partizan of the “Blues” in the Circus), or mean a Venetian.
- ¹²¹ One of the names of Julianus, who was consul under Pius and provincial legate under Marcus.
- ¹²² Possibly the master of the emperor Pertinax (see Capit. Vit. Pert. 12).
- ¹²³ Marcus Antoninus and Lucius Verus (161–169).
- ¹²⁴ From the fragmentary nature of the evidence, it is not easy to understand the legal points in the case alluded to in these three letters. *Matidia*, the great-aunt of Marcus and *Faustina*, had made them her heirs, but whether they were her natural heirs is not known. The *codicilli* were informal documents added to the will, in which directions were given to the heir as to certain gifts to be distributed by him. These were cancelled by *Matidia*, but certain interested parties tried to pass them off as valid. Fronto is afraid that Marcus will, for fear of benefiting himself, let them stand, in which case they might absorb more than the three-fourths of the whole property contrary to the *Falcidian law*, which stipulated that the heir must receive at least one-fourth of the whole inheritance. Marcus could either refuse to act as heir, or decide against the *codicils*, and so bring the gifts mentioned in them into his own share as residuary legatee, or let the *codicils* stand in spite of the seals being broken (cp. his own decision in Dig. xxviii. 4, 3, and *Gaius*, ii. 120 and 151). It is most likely that he took the second course, though he may also have carried out the cancelled provisions.
- ¹²⁵ See Corp. Insc. Lat. vi. 8440: *T. Aurelius Egeatheus Imp. Antonini Aug. Lib. a Codicillis*.
- ¹²⁶ Possibly alluded to by *Scaevola*, one of the *amici*, in Dig. xxxv. 2, 36.
- ¹²⁷ cp. *Sallust* in *Suidas* s.v. *Athenodotus*.
- ¹²⁸ *Lucius Verus*, who had gone to the Parthian war.
- ¹²⁹ He chaffingly calls the letter a speech.

¹³⁰ This assaying of the gold (presumably the gold ornaments) was done by means of fire in a small flat vessel called a cupel.

¹³¹ About £20,000.

¹³² About £500. It is not clear whether these alumni were children of an alimentary foundation, such as the *puellae Faustinianae*.

¹³³ Owing to the confusion in the leaves of the Codex and their partial illegibility, it is impossible to be quite sure of the position of the various parts of this tractate, and consequently of the thread of the argument. It is obviously connected with the similar letters *De Eloquentia* above, being like them an appeal to Marcus not to neglect eloquence for philosophy. Little seems lost at the beginning, and Fronto enters at once on an indictment of the false eloquence of Seneca and his school, whom he accuses of trickeries and tautology, taking Lucan especially as an instance of the latter fault. He compares their mannerisms to a harpist in a cantata repeating a note again and again. He also charges such writers with meanness and slovenliness of diction, with effeminate fluency and preciousity. Turning to a speech lately delivered by Marcus, he praises him for his invention, and repeats (§ 8) what he had said in the *De Eloquentia* about clear and imperfect utterance. In connexion with this he refers to a treatise of Theodorus. which he had evidently used in his lessons. In § 9 an unfortunate gap obscures the trend of the argument, but we find him still discussing the Senecan style. From this he turns to the grandiloquence of a Gallic rhetor and his inappropriate use of Ennius. But the abrupt transition from Alexander to the Tiber is puzzling. In conclusion, he criticises severely an edict of Marcus and adds a warning against the debased style.

¹³⁴ See i. p. 140.

¹³⁵ The plain, austere eloquence of Cato is compared to the fruit of the wild pine (Hauler refers to Cato, *R.R.* xlvi. 3), as contrasted with the soft, feverish style of Seneca.

¹³⁶ Sergius Flavius, who, says Quintilian (*Inst.* viii. 3), formed many new words, some very harsh.

¹³⁷ Dryden, in his *Essay on Dramatic Poetry*, quotes the proverb *aurum ex stercore colligere*.

¹³⁸ i.e. ready to aid men; see *Cic. De Legg.* ii. 11, §28.

¹³⁹ Lucan's *Pharsalia*, Book I. 2 ff.

¹⁴⁰ Glories of heroes, — who by the Pontic strait, — as their monarch Pelias bade them, — seeking the Golden Fleece, — rowed forth in the well-built Argo.

¹⁴¹ Musical plays so named from their subjects; but the names are by no means certain, and various others have been proposed instead.

¹⁴² Marcus may have been alluding to himself and Lucius as the eyes of the state.

¹⁴³ See *De Eloquentia* above, 3, § 1.

¹⁴⁴ J. W. E. Pearce has suggested to me that this is the meaning of the words. A text-book on rhetoric by Theodorus seems referred to, by the rules of which Fronto judges the expressions quoted. There were two rhetoricians of this name, one of Gadara, the other of Byzantium. For the latter see *Cic. Brut.* 12 (in arte suavior).

¹⁴⁵ This passage, if no other, makes impossible the suggestion of Mommsen that this treatise was written as late as 177. Fronto died, almost certainly, in 166 or 167.

¹⁴⁶ It is not known who the Censor was.

¹⁴⁷ The Senecan style.

¹⁴⁸ Probably not Favorinus, the Gallic orator of Hadrian's circle, who was a friend of Fronto's.

¹⁴⁹ i.e. in the orator's show speech on the subject.

¹⁵⁰ The Gallic orator.

¹⁵¹ Who the Tuscan was who canalised the Tiber is not clear, nor whether the whole of this is not another extract from the rhetorician.

¹⁵² cp. *Verg. Aen.* viii. 77. He probably followed Ennius.

¹⁵³ The *Ovilia* was a place in the *Campus Martius* where the voting at the elections took place.

¹⁵⁴ *Actus*, a certain measure of land (see *Plin. N.H.* xviii. 17).

¹⁵⁵ Marcus (*Ad Caes.* i. 2 and v. 7) uses the word *illibatus* of *corpus* and *salus*, coupling it with *incolumis* in the latter case. Pius uses it in a rescript (*Inst. Iust.* i. 8, 2) with *potestas*. It appears, therefore, that its use with a personal subject was objectionable.

¹⁵⁶ That is, like Seneca's.

¹⁵⁷ See Index.

¹⁵⁸ This mention of Commodus is difficult. He was named Caesar in 166, but did not become emperor till 177. Though the father of Lucius Verus was Commodus, the latter could not have been called Commodus. Perperna was consul 130 B.C. There is a coin of the Gens Trebanvia extant; see Eckhel, v. 326.

¹⁵⁹ Fronto says: Follow the older writers. The Senecan style is as catching as the itch. There is purer metal in the older coins. What, not prefer a coin of Antoninus! Of course the older words are worn and discoloured with age and want careful handling to justify their use.

¹⁶⁰ From Sallust's *Hist. Lib. I.* says Hauler. Servius quotes the passage on Verg. *Georg. ii.* 209.

¹⁶¹ Cicero seems to use it so.

¹⁶² Verus is writing from Syria not long after his arrival at the seat of war, while the Parthians had not yet been definitely beaten.

¹⁶³ Nazarius (*Paneg. xxiv. § 6*) says that Varus in a panic offered the Parthian king terms which were scornfully rejected, but he means Lucius.

¹⁶⁴ A second deprecator was probably Marcus.

¹⁶⁵ The twins Lucius Aurelius Commodus and Antoninus Geminus, born at Lanuvium on August 31, 161. The latter died in 165.

¹⁶⁶ The author of *De Differentiis Vocabulorum* — possibly Fronto himself — explains *locuples* as a *copia locorum*. Fronto means that he has been able to see Marcus without going to Lorium, where he apparently was, in the faces of his two children.

¹⁶⁷ cp. "Thy small pipe," Shaks. *Tw. N. i. 4, 32*.

¹⁶⁸ Fronto seems to mean that his reply, or payment of his debt, was not made at once but followed later, as the entry in the ledger follows the transaction.

¹⁶⁹ Does Fronto mean that as the wind finds freer entrance to our bodies when the sun has caused us to lay aside our wraps, so toil makes itself more felt when joy has relaxed our energies?

¹⁷⁰ Cato (see *Aul. Gell. vii. 3, 37*) mentions this old law, under which the fine for certain offences was limited to half a man's property less 1000 (asses). Fronto says that, all his

wishes and prayers for Marcus having been abundantly fulfilled, he is bound now to perform his part of the bargain and pay the fine due. To meet this liability he tenders his doubled love for Marcus, and does not, as was the old custom, pay with less than half his assets.

¹⁷¹ His adoptive father Pius. Marcus's *pietas* is also mentioned *Capit. v. § 8*, *vii. § 2*, and *Dio, lxxi. 35*.

¹⁷² Lucius Verus, his colleague.

¹⁷³ This long letter to Lucius in Syria was written on the victorious conclusion of the Armenian portion of the great Parthian war, when Lucius received the title *Armeniacus*. Besides flattering Lucius on the military successes, he praises the eloquence of his despatch to the senate. The rest of the letter is a glorification of eloquence, in which he includes all good literature, shewing its essential importance to the ruler and the general in the field. Unfortunately the letter is much mutilated, and many interesting passages are only partially intelligible. The last part is taken up with a comparison between Lucius's despatch and other historical documents of a similar character. The picture of the demoralised army is given again in the *Principia Historia*, but the restoration of discipline was the work of Avidius Cassius and Martius Verus and the other generals.

¹⁷⁴ See *ii. 213*.

¹⁷⁵ Dausara was near Edessa and Nicephorium on the Upper Euphrates in Mesopotamia. Artaxata was the capital of Armenia.

¹⁷⁶ *Capit. (Vit. Mar. ix. § 2)* says this title was bestowed on both emperors after the successful campaign of Statius Priscus in Armenia in 163, but refused at first by Marcus. It appears on his coins late in 164, and he dropped it on the death of Lucius in 169.

¹⁷⁷ A phrase found in the Elder Seneca (*Controv. i.*) and Quint. (*Instit. i. pr.*). It apparently originated with Cato.

¹⁷⁸ Fronto was a native of Cirta.

¹⁷⁹ Ventidius Bassus was enslaved as a child in the Social war. As *legatus* of Antony fifty years later he defeated the Parthians, and attained the unique distinction of a triumph over them.

¹⁸⁰ *cp. Suet. Caes. 55*. Montaigne (*i. 25*) speaks of "the soldier-like eloquence, as Suetonius calleth that of Caesar."

¹⁸¹ But Josephus (*Hist. of Jews, xix. 3, 5*) and Tacitus (*Ann. xiii. 5*) speak highly of the

eloquence of Gaius (i.e. Caligula).

¹⁸² For Hadrian's rococo tastes see Spart. Hadr. xvi. 5.

¹⁸³ There was a proverb ὄνος λύρας, "an ass at the lyre." cp. Lucian, De Merc. Cond. 25: Dial. Meretr. 14; Adv. Ind. 4.

¹⁸⁴ I have given the probable meaning of the mutilated passage, according to Naber's view of it; cp. Min. Felix, Octavius, xviii. 6, and see Herod, iii. 84.

¹⁸⁵ He is being contrasted probably with Cato.

¹⁸⁶ Thuc. vii. 11–16.

¹⁸⁷ Sallust, Hist. iv.

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.* Hist. iii. The letter was from Spain; see Plutarch, Life of Sertorius, ad fin.

¹⁸⁹ *ibid.* Bell. Jug. 24. If arte be read, translate straitly.

¹⁹⁰ cp. Cic. Brut. 132, where he speaks of Catulus' book De Consulatu et de rebus gestis suis as written molli et Xenophonteo genere sermonis.

¹⁹¹ For Pollio's style see Seneca, Ep. 100, 7. Marcus took a dislike to this author; see i. p. 140.

¹⁹² A coin of Lucius, A.D. 164, with legend Rex Armeniis datus (Cohen, iii. 189, Plate 1), shews us Lucius giving Sohaemus the crown. He had been driven from his kingdom by the Parthians, and became senator and consul at Rome; for which see Photius, 94.

¹⁹³ A sarcophagus with an inscription by this Aurelius Pacorus to his brother is extant. See Corp. Inscr. Graec. 3559. Vologaesius had made him King of Armenia.

¹⁹⁴ A Lusitanian guerilla chief (147 B.C.) who defied the Romans for many years.

¹⁹⁵ A Thracian slave and gladiator who raised an insurrection and held out in Italy itself for two years. 73–71 B.C.

¹⁹⁶ cp. below, Princ. Hist. ad med. and Ad Am. i. 6.

¹⁹⁷ cp. Lucian, De Salt.: οἱ Ἀντιοχεῖς . . . πόλιν ὕρχεισιν μάλιστα πρεσβεύουσα.

¹⁹⁸ We know his cursus honorum from Corp. Inscr. Laot. vi. 1549.

¹⁹⁹ Probably Q. Caecilius Metellus, called Numidicus, who conducted the war against Jugurtha in 109 B.C.; see below, Sallust, quoted *Ad Anton.* ii. 6.

²⁰⁰ From an unknown work of Cato.

²⁰¹ Yet according to Aul. Gellius he could spend more than £3,000 on a bath (*Gell* xix. 10, § 4).

²⁰² *cp.* *Capit. Pii Vit.* viii. 4.

²⁰³ Especially between parents and children. See i. p. 281 and *Marcus, Thoughts*, i. 11, and *Justinian, Inst.* ii. 18 pr.

²⁰⁴ This letter, contrasting the characteristics of history and oratory in the matter of style, preserves for us long extracts from Sallust which would have been greatly appreciated if Sallust's works had been totally lost. It has not been thought necessary here to give the extracts in full.

²⁰⁵ Sallust and Cicero

²⁰⁶ Sallust, *Catil.* 5.

²⁰⁷ Sallust, *ibid.*

²⁰⁸ i.e. repetition of an emphatic word.

²⁰⁹ Cicero, *Pro Cael.* 6. The passage continues: *Illa vero iudices, in illo homine mirabilia fuerunt, comprehendere multos amicitia, tueri obsequio; cum omnibus communicare quod habebat; servire temporibus omnium suorum, etc.*

²¹⁰ Sallust, *Jug.* 6, § 1.

²¹¹ Sallust, *Jug.* 7, § 4-8, § 1.

²¹² *ibid.* 17, § 5.

²¹³ *ibid.* 20 §§ 1 and 2.

²¹⁴ *ibid.* 28, § 5.

²¹⁵ Sallust, *Jug.* 44, § 1.

²¹⁶ *ibid.* 44, § 4 to end of 45.

²¹⁷ Sallust, *Jug.* 63, §§ 1-7.

²¹⁸ *ibid.* 100, §§ 3-5.

²¹⁹ *ibid.* *Cat.* 25.

²²⁰ Sallust, *Cat.* 31, §§ 1-3.

²²¹ *ibid.* 37, § 3.

²²² An eminent rhetorician of Galatia; see Philost. *Vit. Soph.* ii., under Chrestus.

²²³ This conventional use of *Domine* (cp. *Domine frater*, p. 244, and even, if the MS. is correct, *domine magister*, *Ad Ant.* ii. 1), is ridiculed in an epigram of the *Anthologia Palatina*. x. 44.

²²⁴ Victorinus, the son-in-law of Fronto, was appointed *legatus* of Germany about 162.

²²⁵ The same person, viz. Gratia, who was possibly with child. The son here mentioned must be the consul of 199 A.D., who set up an inscription to his son of the same name: M • AUFIDIO • FRONTONE • PRONEPOTI • M • CORNELII • FRONTONIS • ORATORIS • CONSULIS • MAGISTRI • IMPERATORUM • LUCI • ET • ANTONINI • NEPOTI • AUFIDI • VICTORINI • PRAEFECTI • URBI • BIS • CONSULIS • FRONTO • CONSUL • DULCISIMO • (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* xi. 6334).

²²⁶ See Dio, lxxii. 11.

²²⁷ Publ. Consentius, in his *Ars Grammatica*, p. 2031, 16 (Putsch), quotes from Fronto, *et illae vestrae Athenae Dorocorthoro* (Rheims), words which were probably contained in a letter to Victorinus in his province.

²²⁸ An interesting personality and a relative, probably, of Pius. We have his *cursus honorum* in an inscription set up by the municipality of Concordia (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* v. 1874). There is an inscription also set up to him at Cirta (see Dessau, 1119). Tertullian (*Ad Scap.* 5) gives us an interesting anecdote of him in connection with a persecution of Christians in Asia Minor, 184-5.

²²⁹ *Hom. Il.* ix. 203. The son of Menoetius was Patroclus. Plutarch (*Symp.* v. 4) discusses the meaning of these words. See also *Athen.* x. 6. The usual texts of Homer read κέραιε.

²³⁰ This letter is important for our knowledge of the status of a decurio, or municipal senator. It shews that these were elected by the whole body. The exact merits of the case at issue are obscured by the mutilation of the letter. We know from a law still preserved in the Digest that a decurio temporarily exiled for an offence not involving infamia might on his return take up his old position, but, if not a senator previously, he could only become one with the emperor's express permission. By excluding Volumnius even for a time from the senate, Antoninus might seem to affix upon him the stigma of infamy. Fronto argues that there can be no doubt he was a senator before his exile. We learn from this letter also that the decurions had to pay for their privileges. The case came under the cognizance of Antoninus as *juridicus per Italiam regionis Transpadanae* (see inscription quoted under the previous letter).

²³¹ 231.0 231.1 In Venetia.

²³² He was *praef. urb.* in 152 and following years, when this case would have come before him. We know that he condemned certain Christians, named Ptolemaeus and Lucius, to death (Justin, *Apol. ii.* §§ 1 and 2). He was also governor of Britain, defeated the Brigantes, a Yorkshire tribe, and completed the Wall of Antoninus between the Forth and the Clyde. See *Corp. Inscr. Lat. x.* 419 (Add.).

²³³ Marcus and Verus. Nothing further is known of the case of Lysias.

²³⁴ Digest, *xlvi.* 7, 2; Gaius, *iv.* 2, etc.

²³⁵ *Felices arbores Cato dixit quae fructum ferunt*, Paul, *ex Fest.* p. 92.

²³⁶ No one who had reached fifty-five could be forced to become a decurion; see Digest, *1.* 2, 2, 8.

²³⁷ There was a notable jurist named Proculus quoted in the Digest. A Cornelius Proculus is also mentioned in the Digest as the recipient of a rescript from Marcus and Verus.

²³⁸ This letter seems to refer to a contract for a public building, for part of which Baburiana was responsible. Arrius had found some fault with this, or had fined B. for the work not being finished in time.

²³⁹ *Humanitas* was beginning about this time to get the meaning humanity. See Aul. Gell. *xiii.* 16; Digest, *xliv.* 37, etc.

²⁴⁰ There was another letter to Arrius in the Codex, but we have only its title in the Index (Naber, p. 189; Ambr. 277 or 292) and the first two words, *Valerianus Clitianus*.

²⁴¹ Possibly consul in 149, and, if so, proconsul about 164, for at this time about fifteen years

separated the two offices.

²⁴² Probably a pupil of Fronto's.

²⁴³ The ablest general in the Parthian war. He afterwards, in 175, revolted against Marcus, and after a six months dream of empire was assassinated.

²⁴⁴ In token of victory on the successful termination of the Parthian war. So in the Peninsular war our coaches ran down through the country decked with laurel when a victory had been won.

²⁴⁵ The Miles Gloriosus.

²⁴⁶ From the defeat of Xerxes to the Peloponnesian war. Thuc. i. 89 S.

²⁴⁷ cp. Cic. Ad Fam. v. 12, a letter which Lucius seems to imitate. See also Pliny to Tacitus (vii. 33). m

²⁴⁸ This is evidently a covering letter to Marcus with the *Principia Historiae*. The fuller account of the war was possibly, owing to Fronto's death in 166 or 167, unless Lucian (*Quomodo Hist.*, 19) refers to Fronto, never written.

²⁴⁹ A preface to the history of the Parthian war which Fronto was to write from materials supplied to him by Lucius. This we may presume would have had considerable historical value. This preamble covered twenty-eight pages of the Codex. Fronto praises Lucius extravagantly, setting him even above the great Trajan. But much of the eulogy is mere rhetoric, and he seems to have had his eye on a rhetorical common place, Livy's sketch of Hannibal. The piece is too mutilated for us to be able to judge Fronto's performance fairly, but his account of the virtues and exploits of Lucius does not tally with what we learn of him elsewhere. Lucian may be referring to Fronto in his *Quom. Hist. Scrib.* § 19, where he ridicules the contemporary historians of the Parthian war, when he speaks of ἄλλος τις ἀοίδιμος ἐπὶ λόγων δυνάμει.

²⁵⁰ Euphrates and Tigris.

²⁵¹ At Charrae in Mesopotamia, B.C. 53.

²⁵² Mark Antony, in 36.

²⁵³ Maximus, mentioned again below. See Dio, lxxviii. 29, 30.

²⁵⁴ Marius.

- ²⁵⁵ Vespasian.
- ²⁵⁶ He is speaking of Trajan. See Pliny, Paneg. 15.
- ²⁵⁷ See Spart. Hadr. 5 and Aug. De Civ. Dei, iv. 29.
- ²⁵⁸ Such as the Moles Hadriana at Rome, and perhaps the tomb of Antinous in the Campus.
- ²⁵⁹ Mai compares Livy's description of Hannibal (xxi. 24) and Pliny's Panegyric of Trajan, 13.
- ²⁶⁰ Hor. Ep. I. vii. 59.
- ²⁶¹ cp. Dio, lii. 34.
- ²⁶² The bonitas of Lucius is mentioned several times by the historians.
- ²⁶³ See Dio, lxxviii. 17, Victor, xlviii. 10. But Pliny, Paneg. 16, defends Trajan.
- ²⁶⁴ See Lucian, Pseudomant. 27, and Quom. Hist. Scrib. 21 and 25.
- ²⁶⁵ Appian Maximus Santra (see Hauler, Wien. Stud. 38, 1916, p. 170). Fronto is blaming Trajan for attending to unimportant matters while his troops are attacked in the rear.
- ²⁶⁶ According to Hauler's reading.
- ²⁶⁷ See Capit. Vit. Veri, viii. §§ 10, 11, and for Trajan see Dio, lxxviii. 24.
- ²⁶⁸ cp. Juvenal, Sat. x. 78, panem at circenses.
- ²⁶⁹ Added by Brakman from the Codex.
- ²⁷⁰ Demonstratus appears twice as an accuser of Herodes in the year 142 (for the trial see i. 60 ff.), and again in 170, as we learn from Philostratus, who also tells us that he wrote speeches against Herodes. The speech of Fronto here mentioned may also be the one against Herodes spoken of above (i. 65), but the allusion reads as if it were a recent one.
- ²⁷¹ i.e. Marcus.
- ²⁷² This grandson may be the one who died, aged three, in Germany (see Ad Verum, ii. 9, 10, below).

²⁷³ See Marcus, Thoughts, ii. 2, 3; 13, 16; iv. 3, 32; vi. 49, etc.

²⁷⁴ See Dio, lxxii. II.

²⁷⁵ cp. Psalms, xvii. 14.

²⁷⁶ Lit. task weighed or measured. It would almost do to translate it “neither in rhyme nor reason.”

²⁷⁷ cp. Marcus, Thoughts, iv. 58; ix. 2; x. 36.

²⁷⁸ *ibid.* ii. 11; vi. 44.

²⁷⁹ cp. the well-known fragment of Menander, ὃν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος.

²⁸⁰ Charisius, in his *Ars Grammatica*, quotes from Fronto’s second book of letters to Antoninus: Male me, Marce, praeteritae vitae meae paenitet.

²⁸¹ In a letter from the fourth book of letters *Ad Anton. Imp.*, quoted by Charisius, *Ars Grammatica*, ii. 197, 3 (Kiel), Fronto says *Satis abundeque honorum est quos mihi cotidiano tribuis.*

²⁸² He could not have been very poor; see Aul. Gellius, below.

²⁸³ Some think this is the grandson’s name.

²⁸⁴ See the preceding letters *De Nepote*.

²⁸⁵ Notes on the conduct of the war mentioned above, *Ad Verum*, ii. 3. See above, p. 194.

²⁸⁶ *Socrum* cannot = *socerum* and mean Marcus. Faustina must therefore have been with Verus and her daughter Lucilla, but whether in Asia or in Italy is not clear. As Lucius married Lucilla in 164, he is not likely to have had more than one child yet, and in any case the children would have been too young to have a message sent them. Therefore Faustina’s other children must be included in *liberos*, as *vestros* also seems to shew.

²⁸⁷ The loss of the opening words makes it difficult to divine the meaning of the first two sentences. There had apparently been some jealousy excited among the entourage of Verus at the favour shewn to Fronto. The latter seems to have suggested some plan for obviating this, which Verus had not fallen in with, but followed another course.

²⁸⁸ Savages rub foreheads and noses. Shaking hands could not have been unknown, as

clasped right hands were a common symbol of amity and unity.

²⁸⁹ Fronto suffered from rheumatism, but not, it appears, as his contemporary Polemo, from arthritis.

²⁹⁰ Was legatus of Numidia in 166; this letter may be to him in his province.

²⁹¹ Possibly the famous jurist Ulpian Marcellus, who was one of the Consilium of Marcus.

²⁹² Fronto writes to his friend Gallicanus on the success of his son at the bar. This son was evidently one of his pupils who lived in his house (contubernales). The word dominus had come to be used as a complimentary title with filius and frater.

OTHER MISCELLANEOUS REMAINS OF FRONTO

OTHER LETTERS

Fronto's Salutation to Hadrian¹

? *About* 136 A.D.

Cornelius Fronto, who held the first place at the bar among the Romans of that day, was returning home on one occasion very late in the evening from a banquet, and learning from one for whom he had promised to plead that Hadrian was sitting in court, he went in as he was in his banqueting dress to the court and saluted him, not with the morning salutation χαῖρε but the evening one ὑγίανε.

From the Speech on the War in Britain

140–1 A.D.

Fronto, not the second but the alternative glory of Roman eloquence, when he was giving the emperor Antoninus² praise for the successful completion of the war in Britain,³ declared that although he had committed the conduct of the campaign to others, while sitting at home himself in the Palace at Rome, yet like the helmsman at the tiller of a ship of war, the glory of the whole navigation and voyage belonged to him.

Fronto's Dream-cure

? 140 A.D.

Fronto, who suffered from rheumatism, having prayed for a cure, dreamt that he was walking in the suburbs of the city, and was not a little comforted by a close application of fire: so much was this so that the result was little short of a cure.

About 137 A.D.

Whether arena, caelum, triticum are found in the plural, and incidentally of quadrigae, inimicitiae, and some other words, whether they are met with in the singular number.

1. When I was a young man at Rome, before I migrated to Athens, and had a respite from attendance on masters and at lectures, I used to visit Cornelius Fronto for the pleasure of seeing him, and derived great advantage from his conversation, which was in the purest language and full of excellent information. And it was invariably the case that, as often as we saw him and heard his talk, we came away with our taste improved and our minds informed: as, for instance, was the case with *ha* discussion by him on one occasion of a question trivial in itself indeed yet not unconnected with the study of the Latin language.

2. For when a certain close acquaintance of his, a man of learning and a distinguished poet of the time, told us that he had been cured of a dropsy by the application of heated “sands,” Fronto, bantering him, said:

“You are quit indeed of the disease, but of defect in diction you are not quit. For Gaius Caesar, the father-in-law of Gnaeus Pompeius, he who was dictator for life, from whom the family and designation of the Caesars are derived and still continue, a man of preeminent genius and distinguished beyond all his contemporaries for purity of style, in those books which he wrote to Cicero *On Analogy*,⁴ holds that *arenae* is a faulty locution, in that *arena* is never used in the plural any more than *caelum* or *triticum*;⁵ but his opinion is that *quadrigae*, on the other hand, although a single chariot is a single team of horses yoked together, should always be spoken of in the plural number, just as *arma* and *moenia* and *comitia* and *inimicitiae*: unless, my most brilliant of poets, you have anything to say to the contrary that shall clear you and prove that you were not in fault.”

3. “As to *caelum*,” said the other, “and *triticum*, I do not deny that they should always be used in the singular number; nor as to *arma* and *moenia* and

comitia that they should be regarded as invariably plural words: about *inimicitiae* and *quadrigae*, however, we will consider later; and possibly as to the latter I shall bow to the authority of the ancients. But what grounds has C. Caesar for supposing that *inimicitia* was not used by the ancients and cannot be used by us, just as much as *scientia* and *impotentia* and *iniuria*? since Plautus, the glory of the Latin tongue, has used *delicia* also in the singular number for *deliciae*:

*My darling, says he, my delight.*⁶

Inimicitia Q. Ennius has, in fact, used in that constantly-quoted book of his:

*With such a character did Nature me endow,
Friendship and enmity I bear upon my brow.*⁷

But indeed, I beseech you, who else has either written or said that *arenae* is bad Latin? And therefore I beg that, if Caesar's book be in your possession, you should bid it be brought, that you may judge how positively he says this."

4. On the first book *On Analogy* being produced, I committed to memory these few words from it. For after remarking that neither *caelum* nor *triticum* nor *arena* admits of a plural meaning, he⁸ goes on, *Do you think that it results from the nature of these things, that we speak of one land and many lands, and of a city and cities, and of an empire and empires, but cannot reduce "quadrigae" to a noun of singular number nor convert "arena" into a term signifying plurality?*

5. After reading these words Fronto said to the poet:

"Are you satisfied that C. Caesar has decided against you clearly and firmly enough as to the status of the word?"

Then the poet, impressed by the authoritative nature of the book, said: "If there were the right of appeal from Caesar, I would now appeal from this book of Caesar's. But since he has himself omitted to give any reason for his verdict, I ask you now to tell us what fault you think there is in saying either *quadriga* or *arenae*."

6. Then Fronto replied as follows:

“*Quadrigae*, even though only one horse is yoked, always keeps the plural number, since four horses yoked together are called *quadrigae*, as if it were *quadriugae*, and certainly that which denotes several horses should not be compressed into the oneness of the singular number. The same reasoning applies also to *arena*, but from a different point of view, for since *arena*, though used in the singular number, yet signifies a plurality and abundance of tiny particles of which it is composed, *arenae* would seem to be used ignorantly and improperly, as though that term required an enlargement of number, though the conception of multitude essential to it is naturally expressed by the singular number. But I have said this,” he added, “not as the ratifier and endorser of this verdict and rule,⁹ but that I might not leave the opinion of Caesar, a learned man, without anyone to stand up for it.

7. “For while *caelum* is always spoken of in the singular, *mare* and *terra* not always, and *pulvis* and *ventus* and *fumus* not always, why have the old writers occasionally used *induciae* (a truce) and *caerimoniae* in the singular, but never *feriae* (holidays) and *nundinae* (market-day) and *inferiae* (sacrifice to the dead) and *exsequiae* (obsequies)?¹⁰ Why do *mel* and *vinum* and all other words of that kind admit of a plural, and *lac* not admit of one? All these things, I say, cannot be investigated and unravelled and hammered out by citizens so fully occupied in so busy a state. Nay, I see that I have kept you over time even by so much as I have already said, bound as you are I suppose on some business. Go then now, and when you chance to have the time, search whether some orator or poet, belonging at least to the more ancient school, that is, some writer of classic rank and of substance, and not of the common sort, have not used *quadriga* and *arenae*.”

8. Fronto bade us indeed look out for these words, not, I take it, because he thought they were to be found in any writings of the ancients, but that he might through the search after uncommon words practise us in the habit of reading.

The form, then, which seemed the most uncommon of all we did find, *quadriga* spoken of in the singular, in the book of *Satires* by M. Varro entitled *Exdemetricus*. But for *arenae* in the plural we looked with less care, because

besides Caesar, as far as I remember, no man of learning has banned it.

Names for the Colours in Latin and Greek

After 143 A.D.

Conversation of M. Fronto and Favorinus the philosopher on the different kinds of colours and the terms for them in Greek and Latin; and incidentally what sort of colour is spadix.

1. When Favorinus the philosopher was on his way to visit Fronto, formerly consul, who had gout, he wished me also to accompany him thither. And then, when there, at Fronto's house, many learned men being present, a discussion took place about colours and their designations, since there were many varieties of colours, but their denominations few and ambiguous, Favorinus remarked that "more varieties of colour are distinguished by the sense of sight than differentiated by words and terms of speech. For, to omit their other nice blendings, the simple colours *red* and *green* have indeed separate names but include many different varieties and the dearth of terms for these I find to be greater in Latin than in Greek. For instance, the colour *rufus* is indeed called so from *rubor* (redness), but while there is one redness of fire, another of blood, another of the shell-fish dye, another of saffron, (another of gold), yet our Latin speech does not discriminate between these separate varieties of red by separate and distinctive terms, but designates them all by the single term redness, though at the same time it borrows names for the colours from the objects themselves, and calls a thing fiery-red and flame-red and blood-red and purple-red and saffron-red and gold-red,¹¹ for the colours *russus* and *ruber* do not differ at all from the colour called *rufus*, nor do they express its peculiar shades; but ξανθός (*chestnut*) and ἐρυθρός (*wine-red*) and πυρρός (*flame-red*)¹² and ποῖνιξ (*purple-red*)¹³ seem to distinguish certain differences in the colour red, either darkening it or making it lighter or giving it an intermediate shade."

2. Then Fronto said to Favorinus:

"We do not go as far as to deny that the Greek language, in which you seem to

be well-read, is more comprehensive and copious than our own: still in designating those colours which you have just mentioned, we are not so poorly off as you seem to suppose. For, in fact, those words which you lately mentioned, *rufus* and *ruber*, are not our only ones to denote the colour red; but we have others besides and more than the Greek ones mentioned by you. For *fulvus* and *flavus* and *rubidus* and *phoeniceus* and *ritulus* and *luteus* and *spadix*¹⁴ are designations of the colour red, either intensifying it, as if firing it, or blending it with green, or deepening it with black, or softly brightening it with greenish white.

3. “For *phoeniceus*, which you mentioned in its Greek form φοῖνιξ, is a word of our own, and *ritulus*, and *spadix*, which is synonymous with *phoeniceus* — a word that, though Greek by origin, is naturalized with us — signifies the richness and brilliance of red, such as it appears in the fruit of the palm-tree when not very much burnt by the sun; and hence come the words *spadix* and *phoeniceus*. For the Dorians call a branch with fruit broken off from the palm-tree a *spadix*.

4. “*Fulvus*, however, seems to be a blend of red and green, in which sometimes the one colour, sometimes the other, predominates: as a poet, the most careful in his choice of words, calls an eagle *fulvus*, and jasper and wolfskin caps and gold, and sand and the lion all *fulvus*;¹⁵ and so Quintus in his *Annals* used it of bronze. *Flavus*, on the other hand, seems to be a combination of green and red and white; thus tresses are called *flaventes*,¹⁶ and, what I find surprising to some, Vergil speaks of the leaves of olives as *flavae*: and so, long before, Pacuvius¹⁷ talked of water¹⁸ and dust being *flavus*; and as his lines are most delightful, I willingly recall them:

*Reach me thy foot, that these same hands that bathed Ulysses oft,
May with the yellow waters cleanse the yellow dust,
And with the hand's soft stroking soothe thy weariness.*

Rubidus, however, is a darker red with a large proportion of black. *Luteus*, on the other hand, is a more transparent red, from which its name also seems to be derived.¹⁹ So you see, my Favorinus, that more shades of red have not distinctive names among the Greeks than among us. Nor have they more terms than we have for expressing the colour green either. Vergil, having

occasion to describe a horse as green, could have used the word *caeruleus* rather than *glaucus*, but preferred to use a better known Greek word than an unusual Latin one.²⁰ Our ancient Latin writers called that *caesia*, which in Greek is *πλαυκῶπις*, as Nigidius²¹ says, from the colour of the sky, as if *caelia*.”

5. When Fronto had said this, Favorinus, complimenting him warmly on his abundant knowledge of facts and his felicity of expression, remarked, “But for you alone perhaps the Greek language would have come in first by a long way. But you, my Fronto, exemplify Homer’s verse:

*Now had you passed me by in the race or made it a dead heat.*²²

But while I listened with delight to all that you have so learnedly said, yet I was especially pleased with your analysis of the varieties of the colour *flavus*, and at your enabling me to understand those most charming lines from the fourteenth book of the *Annals* of Ennius, which I never understood:

*They sweep forthwith the tranquil water’s yellow flow;
Churned by the close-packed fleet the dark-blue ocean foams.*

For the ‘dark-blue’ sea did not seem to correspond with the ‘yellow’ flow. But since you have told us that the colour *flavus* is a blend of green and white, the foam of the green sea was assuredly most beautifully expressed by *flavo marmore*.”

“Many Men” and “Many Mortals”

After 143 A.D.

Inasmuch as Quadrigarius²³ uses the expression “with many mortals” what and how much difference it would make if he had said “with many men.”

The words from the thirteenth book of the *Annals* of Claudius Quadrigarius are:

The assembly being dismissed, Metellus came into the Capitol with many

mortals: on his return home from there he was escorted by the whole city.

When that book and those words were read to Fronto, while I and many more were sitting with him, it was the opinion of a person present, and one by no means unlearned, that it was absurd and frigid in a historical work to say “with many mortals” instead of “with many men,” and savoured too much of poetry: then said Fronto to him who had expressed this view:

“Do you, a man of the correctest taste in other things, affirm that you think ‘many mortals’ an absurd and frigid expression? And do you suppose that a man so discreet and master of so pure and current a style had no motive for preferring ‘mortals’ to ‘men’? And do you believe that it would have given the same convincing picture of a multitude of men if he had substituted *multis hominibus* for *multis mortalibus*? For my part, unless my love and reverence for that writer and for all the language of our old authors blinds my judgment, I hold that, in so describing the concourse of nearly a whole city, ‘mortals’ is an expression far and away more ample, more comprehensive, and more copious than simply ‘men.’ For the phrase *multi homines* can be contracted and compressed to mean quite a moderate number, while *multi mortales* in some mysterious way and by some subtle nuance includes almost the whole body of citizens of every class and age and sex. And surely Quadrigarius, wishing to describe what was actually the fact, the presence of a huge and mixed multitude, said that Metellus went into the Capitol ‘with many mortals’ more emphatically than if he had said ‘with many men.’”

When we were thus listening to all this that Fronto said, as was natural, not only with approbation but with admiration, he added:

“Take care, however, not to think that *multi mortales* should be used always and on every occasion for *multi homines*, that the Greek proverb from Varro’s *Satire*, *myrrh-oil on a dish of lentils*, may not be actually exemplified.”²⁴

This criticism of Fronto’s, though concerned with trifling and unimportant locutions, I thought worthy to be recorded, that we should not fail, perchance, through neglect or inadvertence to apply a nice discrimination to words of this kind.

On praeter propter

That the expression praeter propter, which has come to be a vulgarism, is found in Ennius.

After 143 A.D.

1. I remember that Julius Celsinus Numida and I once went to call on Cornelius Fronto who was at the time suffering from gout. When we were admitted, we found him lying on a pallet-bed of Grecian pattern with many persons eminent for learning, birth or fortune sitting round him. Several architects, called in for the construction of a new bath, were in attendance, and they were exhibiting various sketches of baths drawn upon little scrolls of parchment. When he had chosen one of these plans, and a sketch of the actual thing, he asked what was the estimate for completing the whole work; and on the architect saying that about 300,000 sesterces²⁵ would seem to be required, one of Fronto's friends said "and another 50,000²⁶ there or thereabout."

2. Then Fronto postponing the discussion which he had begun, as to the cost of the bath, turned to the friend, who had said that another 50,000 there or thereabout was required, and asked him what he meant by the expression *praeter propter*.

And the friend answered, "It is not my word; you can hear numbers of people using it. But as to its meaning, you must not ask me but the grammarian yonder," indicating at the same time a person who was present of no small note as a teacher of grammar at Rome.

3. Then the grammarian, influenced by the meanness of a word in very common use, said, "The question is quite unworthy of our discussion. For the word is somehow too vulgar and more often to be met with in the conversation of mechanics than of educated men."

But Fronto at this point shewing more earnestness in his tone and looks said:

"And so this word appears to you, master, improper and faulty, which M. Cato

and M. Varro and many generations of our predecessors used as indispensable and good Latin?”

4. Here Julius Celsinus reminded us that the very word which we were enquiring about occurred also in the tragedy of Ennius called *Iphigenia*, and that the meaning was as a rule rather tangled than unravelled by the grammarians. So he desired the *Iphigenia* of Q. Ennius to be brought forthwith; and in a chorus of that tragedy we read these lines:

*He who can use not ease more labour has
Than when his labour in his labour lies.
For he who does what he has planned makes it
No labour; heart and mind delight therein:
In idle ease the heart knows not its wish.
So we: at home we are not nor abroad;
This way we go, then that; no sooner come,
We wish to go elsewhere; we vacillate,
And live but there or thereabout our life.*

5. When this passage had been read, Fronto turning to the grammarian, who was now feeling uncomfortable, said:

“Do you hear, excellent master, that your friend Ennius has used *praeter propter*, and in a sentiment as dignified as the severest scolding by philosophers could be? We beg you, therefore, since we are enquiring about a word used by Ennius, to tell us what is held to be the meaning of this verse:

Incerte errat animus, praeter propter vitam vivitur”

And the grammarian, sweating profusely and blushing profusely, as most of us were laughing heartily at his dilemma, got up and, as he went out, said, “I will give you an answer some time when you are alone, as I do not wish the more ignorant listeners to hear and profit by what I say.”

After this we all rose up, leaving the discussion of the word there.

That those whom we call pumiliones are named vávoi in Greek.

After 143 A.D.

1. It chanced that Cornelius Fronto and Postumius Festus and Sulpicius Apollinaris were standing together in the porch of the Palace talking. I was standing by at the same time with some others and eagerly listening to their conversation on the niceties of language.

2. Then said Fronto to Apollinaris:

“Certify me, I beseech you, master, whether I was right in giving up speaking of men of very small stature as *nani* and preferring to call them *pumiliones*, since I remembered to have seen the word in the old writers:²⁷ but *nani* I believed to be a mean and barbarous word.”

3. “This word,” said Apollinaris in reply, “is in fact commonly used by the uneducated vulgar, but it is not barbarous, and is classified as Greek by origin; for the Greeks styled vávoi men of short and low stature, such as stood but little above the ground; and they used it in this way from some reference to its etymology, which tallies with the meaning of the word. And if my memory,” he added, “is not at fault, it is found in the comedy of Aristophanes which is called Ἀκλαΐς. But this word would at once have been granted the franchise or been naturalized as a Latin colonist, if you had deigned to use it, and would be ever so much more worthy of approval than the much too mean and vulgar expressions brought by Laberius into use in Latin.”

4. Then Postumius Festus, turning to a Latin grammarian, a friend of Fronto’s, said, “Apollinaris has told us that *nani* is a Greek word. Will you inform us whether, as commonly used of mules and small horses, it is a Latin word, and in what author it is found?”

5. And the grammarian, a man without a doubt exceptionally versed in the writings of the ancients, said, “If I am not guilty of criminal presumption in saying, with Apollinaris present, what I think of any Greek or Latin word, I venture, Festus, in answer to your question to say that this word is Latin and is

found written in the poems of Helvius Cinna,²⁸ no mean or unlearned poet,” and he recited his actual verses, which, as they happened to stick in my memory, I have added:

*Now swiftly past Cisalpine willow-thickets
My phaeton and pair of jennets whirled me.*

Speech of Thanks in the Senate on behalf of the Carthaginians. Address to
Antoninus Pius

About 153 A.D.

..... Just as you rebuilt Rhodes. Whatever Gods there be of all peoples and of all cities I pray and beseech to guard for long years to come your health, on which is based the empire of the Roman People and our safety and the liberty, dignity, and security of the provinces and of all races and nations, and to keep you safe far into the future, and the cities so that they be unharmed . . . may you restore . . . and may they keep their conspicuous virtues (to be) . . . an ornament of the Latin name . . . the mainstay of our changing fortunes.

The “Incestuous Banquets” of the Christians

And about their banquet the facts are known: they are common talk everywhere: the speech²⁹ of our fellow citizen from Cirta also bears witness to them: —

“On a regular day they come together for a feast with all their children and sisters and mothers, persons of both sexes and of every age. Then after much feasting, when the banquet has waxed hot and the passion of impure lust and drunkenness has been kindled in the company, a dog which has been tied to the standing lamp is incited to jump and bound up by a little cake thrown to it beyond its tether. The tell-tale light being by this means cast down and extinguished, the guests under cover of the shameless darkness embrace one

another in their unspeakable concupiscence, as chance brings them together, and, if not in fact yet in guilt, all are alike incestuous, since whatever can result by the act of individuals is potentially desired by the wish of all.”

What Marcus learnt from Fronto

About 176 A.D.

From Fronto:³⁰ to note the envy, the subtlety, and the dissimulation which are habitual to a tyrant; and that, as a general rule, those amongst us who rank as Patricians are somewhat wanting in natural affection.³¹

ENDNOTES

¹ The point in this story, such as it is, seems to be that the court was still sitting in the early morning hours when Fronto came in from his banquet. It was a new day to the court, but the end of Fronto's day. Hence his use of the evening salutation. For the difference between χαῖρε, "Good cheer" (our "Good morning," or "How do you do?"), and ὑγίαινε, "Vale" (our "Good night," or "Good-bye"), see Lucian, *Pro Lapsu in Salutando*, i. , where a mistake in the use of these expressions is illustrated at length.

² Pius.

³ 140 A.D.

⁴ *De Bello Parthico*, ad fin.

⁵ Verg. *Ecl.* v. 36, *Georg.* i. 317, uses hordeum (barley) in the plural, and is taken to task by Bavius, a rival poet, who says he might as well say tritica (wheats).

⁶ Plautus, *Poen.* I. ii. 152.

⁷ From an unknown play. Achilles is speaking.

⁸ Caesar.

⁹ Fronto himself used arena some few years later in 143 A.D.; see i. p. 160. It is often used by Ovid, and also by Vergil, Horace, Seneca, etc.

¹⁰ So funerals in Old English. We use obsequies, though Shakespeare has obsequy.

¹¹ In our old ballads the "red gold" often occurs.

¹² Plato (*Tim.* lxviii. 3) says it is a mixture of chestnut and gray.

¹³ From the Phoenician discoverers, or perhaps date-red from the palm-tree. See below.

¹⁴ These words represent the shades of red: tawny, auburn, brick-red, purple-red, golden-red, orange-red, date-red.

¹⁵ See Verg. *Aen.* xi. 751; iv. 261; vii. 6S8; vii. 279; xii. 741; iv. 159 (cp. *Lucr.* v. 902); but he also says flavum aurum (i. 592). Servius on the passage vii. 688 mentions Fronto as speaking of galerum.

¹⁶ Verg. *Aen.* iv. 590; cp. Hor. *Od.* I. v. 4.

¹⁷ From the Niptra

¹⁸ Vergil calls the Tiber flavus (*Aen.* vii. 31) and Horace.

¹⁹ The word seems to be taken from a weed lutum, which was rather yellow than red. It is used of the dawn by Verg. *Aen.* vii. 26.

²⁰ i.e. caeruleus in the sense of green, for which see Propertius, iv. ii. 43; Ovid, Met. xi. 158.

²¹ A Pythagorean philosopher and grammarian of Cicero's time.

²² Hom. Il. xxiii. 382.

²³ A historian at the beginning of the first century B.C. who wrote a history of Rome from its capture by the Gauls.

²⁴ A proverb for "wasting a good thing"; see also Cic. Ad Att. i. 19.

²⁵ About £3,000.

²⁶ About £500.

²⁷ Lucr. iv. 1162, parvula pumilio.

²⁸ The poet slain by mistake for the conspirator Cinna at the murder of Caesar.

²⁹ Nothing more is known of this speech or the attitude of Fronto towards the Christians. Some of these were put to death under Lollius Urbicus, the praef. urbi at Rome in 152, and again under Rusticus in 163. Had Fronto gone to Asia as proconsul in 154 (see i. p. 237), he would have had to deal with the incident of Polycarp's martyrdom. The accusation of *Θυέστια δεῖπνα* against the Christians was common: see Tert. Apol. vii.; Justin, Apol. i. 26, etc.

³⁰ He learnt other and even better things from him; see i. p. 17.

³¹ See Ad Verum, ii. 7, and Just. Instit. ii. 18 fr.

**MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS OF MARCUS
AURELIUS**

INTRODUCTION

Marcus as Letter-writer

Perhaps the more interesting part of the Fronto correspondence is that which contains the letters of Marcus and Pius. But we cannot fairly judge of their epistolary style from these alone. Philostratus says¹ that “in his opinion the best letter writers for style were . . . of kings the deified Marcus in the letters he wrote himself, for the firmness (τὸ ἐδραῖον) of his character was reflected in his writing by his choice of language; and of orators Herodes the Athenian, though by his over-atticism and prolixity² he often oversteps the bounds proper to the epistolary style.”

Marcus was a prolific letter-writer. According to Capitolinus³ he defended himself against calumny by letters. To his friends he sometimes, as we see below, wrote three times in one day. On one occasion he tells us that he had dictated thirty letters,⁴ but these were probably official correspondence. Nearly 200 of his imperial rescripts are extant, which though interesting would be out of place here. Many are in the form of letters.⁵ They contain characteristic sayings such as “No one has a right to let his own negligence prejudice others”;⁶ “Let those who have charge of our interests know that the cause of liberty is to be set before any pecuniary advantage to ourselves”;⁷ “It would not be consistent with humanity to delay the enfranchisement of a slave for the sake of pecuniary gain”;⁸ “It would seem beyond measure unfair that a husband should insist upon a chastity from his wife which he does not practise himself”;⁹ “Nothing must be done contrary to local custom.”

In answer to Ulpius Eurycles,¹⁰ *curator* of Ephesus, asking what should be done with old decayed statues of preceding emperors in the Ephesian senate house, we find the interesting pronouncement, “There must be no re-working of the material into likenesses of us. For as we are not in other respects solicitous of honours for ourselves, much less should we permit those of others to be transferred to us. As many of the statues as are in good preservation should be kept under their original names, but with respect to those that are too battered to be identified, perhaps their titles can be recovered from inscriptions on their bases or from records that may exist in the possession of the Council, so that our progenitors may rather receive a renewal of their honour than its extinction through the melting down of their

images.”

There are, besides, two or three inscriptions and one papyrus, all much mutilated,¹¹ recording letters or rescripts of Marcus, one in 163 to Pontius Laelianus, consul of that year. It contains a rare word γλωσσόκομον rejected by Phrynichus.¹²

Besides the above there are extant only two letters or parts of letters that are certainly genuine. Following these are two letters from Christian sources, the letter to Euxenianus Publico with respect to Abercius, bishop of Hieropolis, and the letter to the Senate purporting to give a report of the “Miraculous Victory” over the Quadi. The fact of the victory with the unexpected salvation of the Roman army is certain, but the heathen writers attribute it to the prayers of the emperor or the incantations of an Egyptian magician.

After these two letters come ten short epistles, or parts of such, which would be of considerable interest if their authenticity were established. Till comparatively lately they were accepted unquestioningly, and afforded material for charges against Marcus. They are all found in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, a late compilation of the fourth Century, intended as a supplement to Suetonius’s *Lives of the Caesars*, and attributed to various authors.

But in spite of Renan and Waddington and Naber and others, who have quoted them as evidence, they cannot be regarded as genuine. They contain several later words, and their style is rhetorical and unworthy of the subjects treated. The puerile playing upon words, *Avidius . . . avidus*, etc. betrays their artificial character. Writing of Cassius, the general who conducted the Parthian war to a successful conclusion and afterwards in 175 rebelled against Marcus, the latter is represented as quoting γνῶμαι from Suetonius instead of giving his own opinions. Moreover facts mentioned in the letters are at variance with what is known from other sources. For instance, Marcus was not in or near Rome in 175, as required by the Faustina correspondence; nor was Pompeianus, his son-in-law, consul in 176; nor was Lucius ever spoken of as grandson of Pius, but always as his son and the brother of Marcus; nor could Fadilla in 175 be alluded to as *puella virgo*, for by that time she would have been twenty-five and almost certainly married.

It is also incredible that Avidius Cassius should have contemplated revolt, and so openly as to arouse definite suspicions in the mind of Verus, so long

before the actual outbreak. We know from Fronto's letters¹³ that Verus and Cassius were on excellent terms as late as 165, and Fronto's own letter¹⁴ to him shews the estimation in which he was then held. When Cassius revolted, Marcus felt it deeply as the defection of a friend.¹⁵ Equally rhetorical and fictitious is a letter said to be from Cassius to his son-in-law:¹⁶ "Marcus is assuredly an excellent man, but while he covets a reputation for clemency, he lets those live whose lives he does not approve. Where is Lucius Cassius, whose name I bear in vain? Where the great Marcus Cato the Censor? Where all the discipline of our ancestors? Marcus Antoninus philosophizes and enquires about first principles and about the soul and about what is honourable and just, and has no thought for the State¹⁷ You have heard of the *praefectus praetorio*¹⁸ of our philosopher, who was a beggarly pauper three days before he was appointed, but has suddenly become rich — whence, pray, if not from the vitals of the State and the property of the provincials?¹⁹ Well, let them be rich, let them be opulent: they will serve to fill the public treasury." By a commonplace of the rhetorical schools Cassius in another passage is made to liken himself to Catiline and Marcus to the *dialogista* (Cicero).²⁰

However there are some touches in the correspondence which are true to character, such as the words attributed to Lucius, "I do not hate the man," which are in keeping with his well-known *bonitas*, and the "Perish my children" of Marcus, which he might well have said. But he is not likely to have quoted Suetonius or Horace, to the latter of whom he took a dislike²¹ in his younger days. The fabricator of the letters was perhaps Aemilius Parthenianus, a writer of the third or fourth century.

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS OF MARCUS AURELIUS

Marcus to the Guild of Dionysus Briseus at Smyrna²²

March 28, 147 A.D.

Marcus Aurelius Caesar, son of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Adrianus Augustus, Father of his country, invested with Tribunitian Power, Consul for the second time, to the Synod of the Guild of Dionysus Briseus, greeting:

Your good will which you shewed in congratulating me on the birth of a son,²³ even though the issue belied our hopes, was none the less manifest.

T. Atilius Maximus, the most honourable proconsul and our friend, inscribed the decree.

I wish you farewell: from Lorium, the 28th March.

The inscription was made by M. Antonius Artemas, Sulpicius Rufinus being honorary treasurer.

Marcus and Herodes Atticus

176 A.D.

After the events in Pannonia²⁴ Herodes lived in Attica in his favourite denies of Marathon and Cephisia,²⁵ attended by young men from every quarter, who travelled to Athens from a desire to hear his oratory.

Wishing to make trial whether Marcus was angry with him owing to what had occurred at the trial,²⁶ he sent him a letter not containing excuses but a complaint, for he said that “he wondered for what reason Marcus no longer wrote to him, though in times past he wrote so often that on one occasion three letter-carriers reached him on a single day, one treading on the heels of another.”

And the Emperor at greater length and on greater subjects, and putting a wonderful amount of character into the letter, sent an answer to Herodes, from which I will extract what bears upon my present subject and quote it. The letter opened with the words “Hail, my dear Herodes”; and after speaking of his winter quarters after the war, in which he was at the time, and lamenting

the wife whom he had lately lost,²⁷ and saying something also about his bodily weakness, he went on as follows: “But for you I pray that you may have good health, and may think of me as your well-wisher and not consider yourself wronged because, detecting some of your household in wrong-doings, I punished them in the mildest way possible. Be not angry with me on this account, but, if I have done you, or am doing you, any injury, ask satisfaction of me in the temple of Athena-in-the-City²⁸ during the Mysteries. For I vowed, when the war²⁹ was at its hottest, that I would be initiated, and I hope you will be my sponsor on the occasion.”

Such was Marcus’s plea for himself, at once so kindly and so manly.

Marcus to Euxenianus Publio

? 163–164 A.D.

The Emperor Antoninus Augustus to Euxenianus Publio, greeting:

Having had experience of your sagacity in your works themselves, and especially in those which you carried out by order of our authority in respect to Smyrna in alleviating the calamity that befell the Smyrniotes owing to the earthquake³⁰ there, I have been pleased, as was natural, and praise you for your diligence in carrying out these duties. For I have been apprized of everything exactly as if I had been present. For everything has been clearly recounted to me by the report sent from you, and by him who presented it, and by Caecilius the procurator. But with respect to the present matter, it has come to the knowledge of our power that a certain Abercius,³¹ bishop of Hieropolis, is living in your jurisdiction, a man of such sanctity among the Christians as both to cure those who are possessed by demons³² and easily heal all other diseases. Having imperative need of him we have sent Valerius and Bassianus representatives of our officials for sacred things, to bring the man to us with all reverence and honour. Accordingly we bid you with your usual firmness to persuade him to come to us with all speed, and you know that this, too, will gain for you no little praise from us. Farewell.

The Letter³³ of the Emperor Marcus to the Senate in which he testifies that the Christians were the Cause of the Victory of the Romans

1. The Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Germanicus Parthicus Sarmaticus³⁴ to the People of the Romans and the Sacred Senate, greeting:

I made known³⁵ to you the greatness of my enterprize, and what things I did in Germany after the critical occasion of my being hemmed in on the frontier, in dire distress and suffering, when I was surprised in Cotinum by seventy-four regiments from nine miles away. Our scouts informed us when they had come near us, and Pompeianus, our commander, shewed us what we also saw for ourselves — for I had been suddenly surrounded by a huge and savage multitude while having with me a composite and moderate force drawn from the First legion and the Tenth (both the Twin and the Fretensian) — that there were masses of men in a miscellaneous host numbering 977,000.

2. When, therefore, I compared myself and my numbers with the immense hordes of the barbarian enemy, I took refuge in prayer to the Gods of our fathers. But being disregarded by them, and looking at the straits to which my force was reduced, I called upon those whom we name Christians — and by enquiry I found out the greatness of their numbers — going so far as to inveigh against them, which I ought not to have done, for I afterwards learnt their power.

3. They then starting with this (bethought them of) no equipment of missiles or arms or trumpets, since this is hateful to them by reason of the God that they bear in their conscience. It is likely, then, that they whom we suppose to be godless have a self-acting God entrenched in their conscience. For casting themselves on the ground they prayed, not for me alone, but also for the whole army, that He would relieve our present drought and famine. For we had taken no water for five days, as there was none to be had, for we were in the very heart of Germany and far within their frontiers. As soon as they had cast themselves on the ground, and prayed to a God whom I knew not, straightway there came water from heaven, the coolest of rain upon us, but upon the enemies of Rome fiery hail. So straightway was revealed to us at once, as they prayed, the presence of their God, as of one omnipotent and everlasting.

4. From this moment, therefore, let us allow such persons to be Christians, lest by praying they obtain such weapons against us. And I propose that no such person be accused on the ground of his being a Christian. But, if anyone

be found accusing the Christian for being a Christian, I wish it to be made clear that the Christian who is brought to trial should be (acquitted), if he confesses himself to be a Christian, and no other charge is brought against him except that he is a Christian, but that his accuser shall be burnt alive;³⁶ and the Governor who is set over the province must not force to recant or deprive of his liberty the Christian who confesses that he is one, and is credited.

5. My will is that this should be ratified by a decree of the Senate, and I direct that this my edict be published in Trajan's Forum, that it may be open to all to read it. The prefect Vitrasius Pollio³⁷ will see to it that it is sent throughout the provinces. Anyone who wishes to appeal to it and to have it by him must not be prevented from obtaining a copy from the official gazette of our decrees.

Letter of Marcus to his *Praefectus*³⁸ (*praetorio*)

? 162–163 A.D.

I have put Avidius Cassius in command of the Syrian army which is dissolved in luxury and living in the moral atmosphere of Daphne.³⁹ Caesonius Vectilianus described them as indulging wholesale in hot baths. And I think I have done right, for you too must have noted Cassius, a man of the old Cassian severity and discipline. Nor indeed can soldiers be ruled except by the ancient discipline. For you know that line of an excellent poet, which is in the mouths of all:

*Rome on her ancient ways and men unshakably standeth.*⁴⁰

You have only to see that the troops are plentifully provided with supplies. If I know anything of Cassius⁴¹ I am certain they will not be wasted.

Answer of the Praefect

? 162–163 A.D.

You have taken a wise step, my Lord, in setting Cassius over the Syrian army. There is nothing so salutary for grecianized soldiers as a man of unusual

strictness. Be sure that he will “knock off” all these hot baths for the soldiers, these flowers from their heads and necks and breasts. The soldiers’ corn-supply is all provided, and nothing is wanting with a good general in command, for his requirements and his expenses are equally moderate.

From a Letter of Verus to Marcus

? 166 A.D.

Avidius Cassius, if my judgment counts for anything, is avid for empire, as was already patent under my grandfather,⁴² your father. I would have you keep a watchful eye upon him. He dislikes our whole regime; he is gathering great wealth; he ridicules our letters; he calls you a philosophizing old woman, me a profligate simpleton. See what had better be done. Personally I do not dislike the man; but you must consider whether you are acting fairly by yourself and your children in keeping ready equipped for action such a leader as the soldiers gladly listen to, gladly see.

Answer of Marcus about Avidius Cassius

? 166 A.D.

I have read your letter, which savours more of the alarmist than the Emperor, and is out of keeping with the times. For if the empire is destined by heaven for Cassius we shall not be able to put him to death, however much we may desire it. You know your great-grandfather’s saying, *No one ever killed his own successor*.⁴³ But if the empire is not so destined, he will himself of his own accord, without any harsh measures on our part, be caught in the toils of Fate, let alone the fact that we cannot treat as a criminal a man whom no one impeaches and, as you say, the soldiers love. Besides, in cases of high treason, it is inevitable that even those who are proved guilty should seem to be victims of oppression. For you know yourself what your grandfather Hadrian said: *Wretched indeed is the lot of princes, who only by being slain can persuade the world that they have been conspired against!*⁴⁴ I have preferred to father the remark on him rather than Domitian, who is said to

have made it first, for in the mouths of tyrants even fine sayings do not carry as much weight as they ought.

Let Cassius then go his own way, more especially as he is an excellent general, strict and brave and indispensable to the State. For as to what you say that the interests of my children should be safe-guarded by his death, frankly, may my children perish, if Avidius deserves to be loved more than they, and if it be better for the State that Cassius should survive than the children of Marcus.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to his Praefects,⁴⁵ Greeting

169–172 A.D.

To Albinus,⁴⁶ of the family of the Ceionii, an African indeed but with not much of the African in him, the son-in-law of Plautillus, I have given the command of two cavalry cohorts. He is a man who has seen service, is of austere life and serious character. I think that his appointment will be of advantage to the army; that it will not be disadvantageous, I am sure. I have granted him double allowances, a simple military robe, but four times the pay of his rank. Exhort him to shew himself a pattern to the State for he is assured a reward equal to his tleserts.

From a Letter about Albinus written by Marcus during the Rebellion of
Avidius Cassius

175–176 A.D.

The loyalty of Albinus is worthy of all praise in that he kept to their allegiance troops that were seriously disaffected, when they were ready to go over to Cassius. And had he not been on the spot, the defection would have been general. In him then we have a man worthy of the consulship, and I will appoint him in the room of Cassius Papirius, who, as I have just been told, is dying. But I would rather not have this appointment made public at present, that it may not get to the ears of Papirius himself or his relations, lest we seem to have elected a consul to take the place of one who is still alive.

Marcus Antoninus to Cornelius Balbus

Circa 178 (?) A.D.

You praise Pescennius⁴⁷ I to me. I am not surprised, for your predecessor also spoke of him as energetic in action, serious in character, and even then more than a mere soldier. And so I have sent a letter to be read to the troops, in which I have given him the command of three hundred Armenians and a hundred Sarmatians and a thousand regulars. It is your part to shew that the man has reached this rank, which my grandfather Hadrian and my great-grandfather Trajan reserved for the most tried soldiers, not by partiality, which is abhorrent to our principles, but by merit.

Marcus to Faustina

175 A.D.

Verus was verity itself when he wrote to me of Cassius that he coveted the empire. For I suppose you have heard what news messengers brought of him yesterday. So come to Albanum⁴⁸ that by the Gods' goodwill we may deal with the situation, and do not be alarmed.

Faustina to Marcus

175 A.D.

I will come myself as you suggest to Albanum to-morrow. But in the meantime I urge you, as you love your children, take the severest measures against these rebels. For the morale of generals and soldiers is thoroughly bad, and unless you crush them they will crush us.

My mother Faustina exhorted your father Pius, on the revolt of [the same] Celsus, that he should shew loyalty in the first place to his own family and then to others. For an Emperor cannot be called Pius who does not think of

wife and children. You see how young our Commodus is: Pompeianus, our son-in-law,⁴⁹ is both aged and a provincial. See how you deal with Avidius Cassius and his accomplices. Spare not men who have not spared you, and would have spared neither me nor your children, had they succeeded. I will myself soon follow you on your journey. As our Fadilla⁵⁰ was ill, I could not come to the Formian Villa.⁵¹ But if I cannot find you at Formiae, I will go on to Capua, a place which is likely to benefit my health and our childrens'. I beseech you send Soteridas the physician to the Formian Villa. I have no faith in Pisitheus, who does not know how to cure our little maid.⁵² Calpurnius gave me the sealed letter to which I will send an answer. If I fail to get it off at once, by Caecilius the old eunuch, a man, as you know, to be relied on, I will entrust him with an oral message of what the wife of Avidius Cassius and his children and son-in-law are reported to say about you.

Answer of Marcus to Faustina

175 A.D.

The anxiety which you shew for your husband and our children, my Faustina, is natural. For I have read your letter again in the Formian Villa, in which you urge me to take vengeance on the accomplices of Cassius. But I intend to spare his children and son-in-law and wife,⁵³ and I shall write to the Senate not to permit any severer persecution or harsher penalty being inflicted on them. For there is nothing that can commend an emperor to the world more than clemency. It was clemency that made Caesar into a God, that deified Augustus, that honoured your father with the distinctive title of Pius.⁵⁴ Finally, if my wishes had been followed in respect to the war, not even Cassius would have been slain. So do not be troubled:

*The Gods protect me, to the Gods my loyalty is dear.*⁵⁵

I have named our Pompeianus⁵⁶ consul for the ensuing year.

ENDNOTES

¹ Epistles, p. 364, Kayser.

² We have only one letter of his, and it certainly is not prolix, for it consists of but one word, ἐμάνης, addressed to Avidius Cassius when he revolted.

³ Vit. Mar. xxii. 6; xxix. 6; cp. xxiii. 7, 9.

⁴ See i. p. 185.

⁵ e.g. those which are addressed to “My dearest Piso,” “My dearest Saxa,” etc. Digest, xlviii. 18, 1, §27; *ibid.* xxix. 5, 3, etc.

⁶ Digest, ii. 16, 3.

⁷ Just. Inst. iii. 11.

⁸ Digest, xl. 5, 37.

⁹ Augustine, de Adult. ii. 8.

¹⁰ An inscription found at Ephesus dated 164 A.D. See Oesterr. Archäol. Instit. 1913, ii. 121.

¹¹ Boeckh, Inscr. Graec. i. 1319; Kaibel, *ibid.* iii. 39a; iv. 363; v. 446. Aegypt. Urkunden. i. 74; Griech. Urkunden (Fayum) i. 74.

¹² Kaibel, Greek Insc. iv. 1534, Phrynichus 98, AB 32.

¹³ Ad Ver. ii. 3.

¹⁴ Ad Amicos, i. 6.

¹⁵ Dio, lxxi. 24.

¹⁶ Vulcatius Gallicanus, Vit. Avid. Cass. 14.

¹⁷ Contrary to fact; see Herodian, i. 4, § 2, and Dio, quoted above.

¹⁸ Bassaeus Rufus is meant. He was praef. praet. 168–177.

- ¹⁹ But see Dio, lxxi. 3. 3.
- ²⁰ For the whole question of the authenticity of these letters see Czwalińska, *De Epistularum quae a scriptoribus historiae Augustae proferuntur fide*.
- ²¹ See i. p. 139.
- ²² This inscription is on a stone, found at Smyrna, recording the minutes of a guild-meeting of the *mystae* (initiated), who met in the temple of Dionysus Briseus at Smyrna.
- ²³ Titus Aelius Antoninus, to whom there is an inscription in the Exhedra of Herodes at Olympia; see Dessau, ii. 8803. There is a difficulty about the birth of this son, as Capit. Vit. Marci, vi. 6, says that Marcus received the Trib. Pot. on the birth of a daughter, and yet we know he received it in 147 The daughter was born in 146.
- ²⁴ For these see Marcus Antoninus in the Loeb series, pp. 366 ff.
- ²⁵ See Aul. Gellius. i. 2; xviii. 10.
- ²⁶ See reference in note 3, p. 295.
- ²⁷ At Halalae in Asia Minor, during the winter of 175–6.
- ²⁸ At Athens.
- ²⁹ With Cassius, or more likely perhaps the Marcomannic war He may be referring to the so-called “miraculous victory” in 174.
- ³⁰ The great earthquake, when Marcus practically rebuilt the city, was probably in 178 A.D. See Aristides, *Μονωδία ἐπὶ Σμύρνῃ* and *Παλινωδία ἐπὶ Σ.*
- ³¹ The Acta of Abercius (Migne’s *Patrol. Graec.* cxv. p. 1211) state that the bishop reached Rome while Marcus was away fighting the barbarians. He was taken to the Praefectus Cornelianus and to Faustina, and cured Lucilla, who was then sixteen (which would be in 164 A.D.), by casting out a devil from her. As a reward he asked for a bath to be made for the hot-springs at Hieropolis, and that 3,000 bushels of corn should be given yearly to that his native city. The epitaph of the bishop has been recovered, and states that he visited Rome and saw βασιλῆα[ν] καὶ βασίλισσαν. He is said to have cured Publio’s mother of blindness.
- ³² Marcus in his *Thoughts* professes disbelief in exorcism (i. 6). This is only one proof out of many that this letter is a Christian forgery. Christian tradition was strongly in favour of Marcus. Baronius early in the seventeenth century had in his possession a letter purporting to

be from Abercius to M. Aurelius, which he intended to publish, but lost.

³³ Found at the end of Justin's second Apology.

³⁴ This title does not seem to have been assumed till 175. The "miraculous victory" took place, as generally held, in 174.

³⁵ Though this letter is certainly spurious, yet there must have been a report to the senate by Marcus on the remarkable victory gained over the Quadi, of which both Christian and heathen writers make mention. The latter attributed the victory to the prayers or merits of the emperor, the Christians to the intercessions of the soldiers of their religion in the *Legio fulminata*, called from their success *fulminatrix*. It is curious, however, that this legion (twelfth) is not mentioned here. The commander was probably Pertinax (see *Chronicon Paschale*), not Pompeianus, the son-in-law of Marcus. The word δράκοντες (serpents, i.e. standards of cohorts) is also used by Lucian, *Quom. Hist.* 29. It here stands for the name of the barbarian regiments or divisions (*Drungi*).

³⁶ An impossible, because illegal, enactment for Marcus.

³⁷ He married Annia Faustina, a cousin of Marcus, and was Consul n. in 176. If praef. praet. at all, he must have succeeded Macrinus Vindex, who fell in battle in 172.

³⁸ *Furius Viotorinus* must be meant. He was praef. praet. 159–167.

³⁹ A suburb of Antioch, the resort of the idle and dissolute.

⁴⁰ From the *Annals* of Ennius.

⁴¹ He was not governor of Syria before the end of 164.

⁴² Lucius, like Marcus, was officially and by adoption son, not grandson, of Pius, though he was also son-in-law of Marcus.

⁴³ See *Suet. Tit.* 92.

⁴⁴ *Suet. Dom.* 20.

⁴⁵ Marcus had two praef. praet. at once only between 169 and 172, viz. M. Bassaeus Rufus and Macrinus Vindex.

⁴⁶ After the death of Commodus in 193, Albinus, then governor of Britain, became a competitor for the empire, but was defeated by Severus and slain.

- ⁴⁷ Pescennius Niger, like Albinus, became a claimant for empire, but was defeated and slain by Severus.
- ⁴⁸ The villa of Domitian on the Alban hills. This afterwards became the town of Albanum.
- ⁴⁹ He married Lucilla, the daughter of Marcus and widow of Lucius Verus. He was Consul II. in 173.
- ⁵⁰ Born about 150. She married Claud. Severus.
- ⁵¹ We know of no imperial villa here.
- ⁵² An inscription (Corp. Inscr. Graec. 1124 b) found at Tibur was dedicated to Artemis ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Μάρκου καὶ Φαδύλλας.
- ⁵³ See Vit. Avid. Cass. 12.
- ⁵⁴ The name Pius was given him either because of his benevolent and gracious disposition (as here and Capit. Vit. Hadr. ii. 7) or because of his dutiful loyalty to Hadrian. Pietas meant a conscientious sense of duty or loyalty to the Gods or country or relations or mankind in general.
- ⁵⁵ Hor. Od. i. 17, 13.
- ⁵⁶ Claud. Pompeianus Quintianus, not the son-in-law of Marcus, was consul suffectus in 176.

The Latin Text



Painting of the Gardens of Maecenas by Jacob Philipp Hackert, 1783 — Fronto amassed a large fortune, erected magnificent buildings and purchased the famous gardens of Maecenas, the first gardens in the Hellenistic-Persian garden style in Rome.

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In this section of the eBook, readers can view the original Latin text of Fronto's works. You may wish to Bookmark this page for future reference.

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EPISTULARUM AD M. CAESAREM ET INVICEM

LIBER I

ad M. Caesarem 1.1

[1 VdH; 1.80 Haines]

Caesari suo Fronto.

<...> Mittam igitur tibi quantum pote librum hunc descriptum.

Vale, Caesar, et ride et omnem vitam laetare et parentibus optimis et eximio ingenio tuo fruire.

ad M. Caesarem 1.2

[1 VdH; 1.80 Haines]

M. Caesar M. Frontoni magistro meo.

Quid ego ista mea fortuna satis dixerim vel quomodo istam necessitatem meam durissimam condigne incusavero, quae me istic ita animo anxio tantaque sollicitudine praepedito alligatum attinet neque me sinit ad meum Frontonem, ad meam pulcherrimam animam confestim percurrere, praesertim in huiusmodi ejus valetudine propius videre, manus tenere, ipsum denique illum pedem, quantum sine incommodo fieri possit, adtrectare sensim, in balneo fovere, ingredienti manum subicere? Et tu me amicum vocas, qui non abruptis omnibus cursu concitato pervolo? Ego vero magis sum claudus cum ista mea verecundia, immo pigritia. O me, quid dicam? Metuo quicquam dicere, quod tu audire nolis; nam tu quidem me omni modo conisus es jocularibus istis tuis ac lepidissimis verbis a cura amovere atque te omnia ista aequo animo perpeti posse ostendere. At ego, ubi animus meus sit, nescio; nisi hoc scio, illo nescio quo ad te profectum eum esse. Cura, miserere, omni temperantia, abstinentia omnem istam tibi pro tua virtute tolerandam, mihi vero asperrimam nequissimamque valetudinem depellere et ad aquas proficisci. Si et quando et nunc ut commode agas, cito, oro, perscribe mihi et mentem meam in pectus meum repone. Ego interim vel tales tuas litteras mecum gestabo.

Vale, mihi Fronto jucundissime, quamquam ita me dispositius dicere oportet (nam tu quidem postulas talia): O qui ubique estis di boni, valeat, oro, meus Fronto jucundissimus atque carissimus mihi, valeat semper integro, inlibato, incolumi corpore, valeat et mecum esse possit. Homo suavissime, vale.

[2 VdH; 1.82 Haines]

Caesari suo Fronto.

Tu, Caesar, Frontonem istum tuum sine fine amas, vix ut tibi homini facundissimo verba sufficiant ad expromendum amorem tuum et benevolentiam declarandam. Quid, oro te, fortunatius, quid me uno beatius esse potest, ad quem tu tam fragrantem litteras mittis? Quin etiam, quod est amatorum proprium, currere a me vis et volare.

Solet mea domina parens tua interdum loci dicere se mihi, quod a te tanto opere diligar, invidere. Quid si istas litteras tuas legerit, quibus tu deos etiam pro salute mea votis advocas et precaris? O me beatum, ore tuo me diis commendatum! Putasne ullus dolor penetrare sciat corpus aut animum meum pro tanto gaudio? Procedo *jam*, babae, neque doleo jam quicquam neque aegre fero: Vigeo, valeo, exulto; quovis veniam, quovis curram. Crede istud mihi tanta me laetitia perfusum, ut rescribere tibi ilico non potuerim; sed eas quidem litteras, quas ad priorem epistulam tuam jam rescripseram, dimisi ad te; sequentem autem tabellarium retinui, quo ex gaudio resipiscerem.

Ecce nox praeteriit, dies hic est alter, qui jam prope exactus est, necdum quid aut quemadmodum rescribam tibi, reperio. Quid enim ego possim jucundius, quid blandius, quid amantius, quam tu scripsisti, mihi proponere? Unde gaudeam, quod ingratum me et referundae gratiae imparem facias; quoniam, ut res est, ita me diligis, ut ego te magis amare vix possim. Igitur ut argumentum aliquod prolixiori epistulae reperiam, quod, oro te, ob meritum sic me amas? Quid iste Fronto tantum boni fecit, ut eum tanto opere tu diligas? Caput suum pro te aut parentibus tuis devovit? Succidaneum se pro vestris periculis subdidit? Provinciam aliquam fideliter administravit? Exercitum duxit? Nihil eorum. Ne cotidianis quidem istis officiis circa te praeter ceteros fungitur, et immo sectator vel is satis infrequens. Nam neque domum vestram diluculo ventitat neque cotidie salutat neque ubique comitatur nec semper expectat. Vide igitur, ut, si quis interroget, cur Frontonem ames, habeas in promptu, quod facile respondeas. At ego nihil quidem malo quam amoris erga me tui nullam extare rationem. Nec omnino mihi amor videtur, qui ratione oritur et justis certisque de causis copulatur. Amorem ego illum intellego fortuitum et liberum et nullis causis servientem, inpetu potius quam ratione conceptum, qui non officiis, ut lignis apparatus, sed sponte ortis

vaporibus caleat. Bajarum ego calidos specus malo quam istas fornaculas balnearum, in quibus ignis cum sumptu atque fumo accenditur brevique restinguitur. At illi ingenui vapores puri perpetuique sunt, grati pariter et gratuiti. Ad eundem prorsus modum amicitiae istae officiis calentes fumum interdum et lacrimas habent et, ubi primum cessaveris, extinguuntur; amor autem fortuitus et jugis est et jucundus. Quid quod neque adolescit proinde neque conrobatur amicitia meritis parta ut ille amor subitus ac repentinus? Ut non aequae adulescunt in pomariis hortulisque arbusculae manu cultae rigitaeque ut illa in montibus aesculus et abies et alnus et cedrus et piceae, quae sponte natae, sine ratione et sine ordine sitae nullis cultorum laboribus neque officiis, sed ventis atque imbribus educantur. Tuus igitur iste amor incultus et sine ratione exortus, spero, cum cedris porro adolescit et aesculis; qui si officiorum ratione coleretur, non ultra myrtos laurusque procrederet quibus satis odoris, parum roboris. Et omnino quantum fortuna rationi, tantum amor fortuitus officioso amori antistat. Quis autem ignorat rationem humani consilii vocabulum esse, Fortunam autem deam dearumque praecipuam, templa, fana, delubra passim Fortunae dicata, at Rationi nec simulacrum nec aram usquam consecratam? Non fallor igitur, quin malim amorem erga me tuum fortuna potius quam ratione genitum. Neque vero umquam ratio fortunam aequiperat neque majestate neque usu neque dignitate. Nam neque aggeres manu ac ratione constructos montibus comparabis neque aquae ductuus amnis neque receptacula fontibus. Tum ratio consiliorum prudentia appellatur, vatum impetus divinatio nuncupatur. Nec quisquam prudentissimae feminae consiliis potius accederet quam vaticinationibus Sibyllae. Quae omnia quorsum tendunt? Ut ego recte malim impetu et forte potius quam ratione ac merito meo diligere. Quamobrem, etiamsi qua justa ratio est amoris erga me tui, quaeso, Caesar, sedulo demus operam, ut ignoretur et lateat. Sine homines ambigant, disserant, disputent, conjectent, requirant, ut Nili caput, ita nostri amoris originem.

Sed jam hora decimam tangit et tabellarius tuus mussat. Finis igitur sit epistulae. Valeo revera multo, quam opinabar, commodius. De aquis nihil dum cogito. Te dominum meum, decus morum, solacium *ma*li, quam multum amo! Dices: “Num amplius quam ego te?” Non sum tam ingratus ut hoc *audeam* dicere.

Vale, Caesar, cum tuis parentibus et ingenium tuum excole.

[5 VdH; 1.90 Haines]

M. Caesar Frontoni magistro suo salutem.

Accipe nunc tu paucula contra somnum pro insomnia. Quamquam, puto, praevaricor, qui adsiduo diebus ac noctibus somno adsum neque eum desero neque sino deserat, adeo sumus familiares. Sed cupio hac sua accusatione offensus paulisper a me abscedat et lucubratiunculae aliquam tandem facultatem tribuat. Igitur ἐπιχειρήματα φίλα: Ejusdem illo primo utar epichiremate; quodsi tu dices faciliorem me materiam mihi adsumpsisse accusandi somni quam te, qui laudaveris somnum. “Quis enim”, inquis, “non facile somnum accusaverit?” Igitur *cujus* facilis accusatio, *eiusdem* difficilis laudatio; *cujus* difficilis *laudatio*, *eius* non utilis usurpatio.

Sed hoc transeo. Nunc quando apud Bajas agimus in *hoc* diuturno Ulixi labyrintho, ab Ulixē me paucula, quae ad hanc rem attinent, sumam. Non enim ille profecto εικοστῷ demum ἔτει venisset εἰς πατρίδα γαῖαν, neque in isto lacu tam diu oberrasset neque, *quae* alia omnia Ὀδυσσεΐαν faciunt perpessus esset, nisi tum “γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἐπήλυθε κεκμηῶτα”. Quamquam “τῇ δεκάτῃ ἀνεφαίνετο πατρὶς ἄρουρα”. Sed quid somnus fecit?

“βουλὴ δὲ κακὴ νίκησεν ἐταίρων·

ἄσκον μὲν λῦσαν, ἄνεμοι δ’ ἐκ πάντες ὄρουσαν,
τοὺς δ’ αἴψ’ ἀρπάξασα φέρεν πόντονδε θύελλα
κλαίοντας, γαίης ἀπο πατρίδος”.

Quid rursum apud insulam Trinacriam?

“οἱ δ’ ἄρα μοι γλυκὺν ὕπνον ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔχευαν.

Εὐρύλοχος δ’ ἐτάροισι κακῆς ἐξήρχετο βουλῆς.

Postea ubi Ἡελίοιο βόας καὶ ἴφια μῆλα ἔσφαζαν καὶ ἔδειραν καὶ μῆρ’ ἐκάη καὶ σπλάγχν’ ἐπάσαντο”, quid tum expergitus Ulixes?

“οἰμῶζας δὲ θεοῖσι μετ’ ἀθανάτοισι γεγώνουν·

ἦ με μάλ’ εἰς ἄτην κοιμήσατε νηλεῖ ὕπνῳ”.

Somnus autem Ulixen ne patriam quidem suam diu agnosceret sivit, *cujus* “καὶ καπνὸν ἀποθρόσκοντα νοῆσαι ἰμείρετο”.

Nunc a Laertio ad Atridam transeo. Nam illud πασσυδίη, quod eum decepit, *cujus* causa tot legiones funduntur, fugantur, ex somno et ex somnio profecto oritur. Quid quom ὁ ποιητῆς Agamemnonem laudat, quid ait?

“ἔνθ’ οὐκ ἂν βρίζοντα ἴδοις Ἀγαμέμνονα δῖον.”

Quid quom reprehendit?

“οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὔδειν βουλευφόρον ἄνδρα,”

quos quidem versus orator egregius mire quondam evertit.

Transeo nunc ad Q. Ennium nostrum, quem tu ais ex somno et somnio initium sibi fecisse. Sed profecto nisi ex somno suscitatus esset, numquam somnium suum narrasset.

Hinc ad Hesiodum pastorem, quem dormientem poetam ais factum. Atenim ego memini olim apud magistrum me legere:

“ποιμένι μῆλα νέμοντι παρ’ ἵχτιον ὀξέος ἵππου

Ἡσιόδῳ Μουσέων ἐσμὸς ὅτ’ ἠντίασεν.”

τὸ ‘ὅτ’ ἠντίασεν’ vides quale sit, scilicet ambulanti obviam venisse Musas.

Quid autem tu de eo existimas, quem qui pulcherrime laudat, quid ait?

“νῆδυμος ἥδιστος θανάτῳ ἄγχιστα ἐοικώς.”

Haec satius tui amorei quam meae fiduciae luserim. Nunc bene accusato somno dormitum eo, nam vespera haec detexui. Opto, ne mihi somnus gratiam referat.

ad M. Caesarem 1.5

[8 VdH; 1.96 Haines]

M. Caesari domino suo Fronto.

Domum reverso mihi epistula reddita est, quam tu videlicet Romam mihi scripseras, et erat lata Romam; deinde hodie relata et paulo ante mihi est reddita; in qua pauca, quae ego pro somno dixeram, tu multis et elegantibus argumentis refutasti ita scite, ita subtiliter et apte, ut, si vigilia tibi hoc acuminis et leporis adfert, ego prorsus vigilare te mallet. Sed enim vespera scripsisse te ais, cum paulo post dormiturus esses. Igitur adpropinquans et imminens tibi somnus tam elegantem hanc epistulam fecit. Namque ut crocus ita somnus, priusquam prope adsit, longe praeolet longèque delectat. Ut a principio igitur epistulae tuae incipiam, elegantissime ‘praevaricari’ te ais, quod <...>

[duae paginae desunt]

<...> est, ut eo sublato aliud subdi ejusdem usus et ponderis non possit. Illud vero dictum elegans ac saviatum, quo ais “neque alia omnia quae Ὅδυσσεῖάν faciunt”. Enimvero omnia istaec inter Graecos versus Latina ita scite alternata sunt et a te et interposita, ut est ille in pyrrhica versicolorum

discursus, quom amicti cocco alii, alii luteo, et ostro et purpura alii aliique cohaerentes concursant.

Jam a Laertio ad Atridam eleganter transisti. Ecce autem circa Q. Ennium aliam malitiosam petam dedisti, cum ais “nisi ex somno exsuscitatus esset, numquam somnium suum narrasset”. At oderit me Marcus meus Caesar, si pote, argutius! Praestrigiae nullae tam versutae, “nulla”, ut ait Laevius, “decipula tam insidiosa”. Quid si ego id postulo, ne expergiscare? Quin postulo, ut dormias! Aliud scurrarum proverbium: “En cum quo in tenebris mices”. Sed sumne ego beatus, qui haec intellego et perspicio et insuper ab dom(ino) meo Caesare magister appellor? Quo pacto ego magister, qui unum hoc, quod te docere cupio, ut dormias non inpetro? Perge, uti libet, dummodo dii te mihi, sive prodormias sive pervigiles, facultate fandi et tam eleganti prosperent.

Vale, *meum gaudium* et cura mea seria.

ad M. Caesarem 1.6

[10 VdH; 1.154 Haines]

M. Aurelius Caesar sal(utem) d(icit) Frontoni mag(istro) suo.

Ne ego impudens, qui umquam, quicquam meorum scriptorum tanto ingenio, tanto judicio legendum committo! Patri, domino meo, locum ex oratione tua, quem me eligere voluerat, ὑπεκρινάμην commode. Plane illa suum auctorem sibi dari flagitabant, denique mihi vix succlamatum est “ᾧξίως τοῦ ποιητοῦ”. Sed quod tu merito omnibus praeoptas, non diu differam: Ita adfectus est auditione eorum dominus meus, ut paene moleste ferret, quod alio modo ad negotium opus sibi esset quam eo, quo tu orationem habiturus intraveras. Sensuum facultatem, elocutionis variam virtutem, inventionis argutam novitatem, orationis doctam dispositionem vehementer miratus est. Nunc, credo, post hoc quaeris, quid me maxime juverit. Accipe, hinc coepi:

“In iis rebus et causis, quae a privatis iudicibus judicantur, nullum inest periculum, quia sententia eorum intra causarum demum terminos valent; tuis autem decretis, *imp(erator)*, exempla publice valitura in perpetuum sanciantur. Tanto major tibi vis et potestas quam fatis adtributa est: Fata, quid singulis nostrum eveniat, statuunt; tu, ubi quid in singulos decernis, ibi universa exempla adstringis. Quare si hoc decretum tibi proco(n)s(ulis) placuerit, formam dederis omnibus omnium provinciarum magistratibus, quid in

ejusmodi causis decernant. Quid igitur eveniet? Illud scilicet, ut testamenta omnia ex longinquis transmarinisque provinciis Romam ad cognitionem tuam deferantur. Filius exheredatum se suspicabitur: Postulabit, ne patris tabulae aperiantur. Idem filia postulabit, nepos, abnepos, frater, consobrinus, patruus, avonculus, amita, matertera: Omnia necessitudinum nomina hoc privilegium invadent, ut tabulas aperiri vetent, ipsi possessione jure sanguinis fruuntur. Causa denique Romam remissa quid eveniet? Heredes scripti navigabunt, exheredati autem in possessione remanebunt, diem de die ducent, dilationes petent, tempora variis excusationibus trahent: “Hiemps est et crudum mare hibernum est; adesse non potuit.” Ubi hiemps praeterierit: “Vernae tempestates incertae et dubiae moratae sunt.” Ver exactum est: “Aestas est calida et sol navigantis urit et homo nauseat.” Autumnus sequitur: poma culpabuntur et languor excusabitur. Fingo haec et comminiscor? Quid, in hac causa non hoc ipsum evenit? Ubi est adversarius, qui jam pridem ad agendam causam adesse debuerat? “In itinere est.” Quo tandem in itinere? “Ex Asia venit.” Et est adhuc in Asia! “Magnum iter, et festinatum.” Navibusne an equis *an* diplomatibus facit haec tam velocia stativa? Cum interim cognitione proposita semel a te, Caesar, petita dilatio et impetrata; proposita cognitione rursum a te duum mensum petita dilatio. Duo menses exacti sunt Idibus proximis et dies medii isti aliquot. Venit tandem? Si nondum venit, at saltem adpropinquat? Si nondum adpropinquat, *at* saltem profectus ex Asia est? Si nondum profectus est, at saltem cogitat? Quid ille cogitat aliud quam bonis alienis incubare, fructus diripere, agros vastare, rem omnem dilapidare? Non ille ita stultus est, ut malit venire ad Caesarem et vinci quam remanere in Asia et possidere.

Qui mos si fuerit inductus, ut defunctorum testamenta ex provinciis transmarinis Romam mittantur, indignius et acerbius sic testamentorum periculum erit, *quam* sit, si corpora *huc* defunctorum trans maria trahantur *adflcta* injuriose. Tum *detrimentum* neque *mortuus* neque *peculium capiet*. Sepultura enim cadaveribus in ipsis injuriis praesto est: Sive maria naufragos devorent sive flumina praecipites trahant, sive harenae obruant, seu ferae lacerent, sive volucres discerpant, corpus humanum satis sepelitur, ubicumque consumitur. At ubi testamentum naufragio submersum est, illa demum et res et domus et familia naufraga et insepulta est. Olim testamenta ex deorum munitissimis aedibus proferebantur aut tabulariis aut *thecis* aut archieis aut

opisthodomis; at jam testamenta *proferunt sicut* jactitarint inter onera mercium et sarcinas remigum. Id etiam superest, si quando jactu opus est, ut testamenta cum leguminibus jactentur. Quin etiam portorium constituendum, *quod* pro testamentis exigatur. Antehac non constitutum, quia testamenta nondum navigarent salis ad exemplar sicque replerent navem aliquo ducente teste.

Non facundum effecit reus publicanus testamentum, *qui in Asia* sorori nil *utrique* dat aliena quo quae isti usu habilior, eo legatis testatur natis suis *vel* ex aliquo publico opere vel tabula aliqua *cognitis*, igitur primo etiam mihi. Vident partes tantas confecisse dona sorores: Aqua maris, tempestate hiemis, caeli nubilus reliquos *insectantur*. Restant soluta ferocia venti et clarissimo caelo et salo pericula transituris; legata in arbitrio marium versantur, illarum procellarum dolo e conspectu avulserint venti superruentes, item cum testamento auferentur. Mox inde illa nave vel *contra* voluntatem soluta *aut* sparsa, post *in* Hadriae fluminum sinus *disjecta* ac dilata *marisque aestu* absorpta *eradicantur*. Interea *sorores bona illa* Asiana tali *fallacia dolosa* usae epulantur. Postea privatae solae sunt, quibus bona sanis testator *allegare potuit* item perfecto testamento propere celata litterula et sua multi exempla.

De funere aliquid addamus. Sciat familia, quemadmodum lugeat: Aliter plangit servus manumissus, aliter cliens laude vadatus, aliter amicus legato honoratus. Quid incertas et suspensas exequias facis? Omnium animalium statim post mortem hereditas cernitur: Ovi lana statim detrahitur, ut elephanto ebur, ungues leonibus, avibus pinnae plumaeque: Hominum hereditas post mortem jacet, differtur, praedonibus exposita dirripitur?”

Puto, totum descripsi. Quid ergo facerem, quom totum *admirarer*, quom totum amarem *talem* hominem beatum? Vale, disertissime, doctissime, mihi carissime, dulcissime, magister optatissime, amice desiderantissime.

Herodi filius natus *hodie* mortuus est; id Herodes non aequo fert animo. Volo, ut illi aliquid, quod ad hanc rem adtineat, pauculorum verborum scribas. Semper vale.

ad M. Caesarem 1.7

[13 VdH; 1.162 Haines]

Domino meo.

Accepi, Caesar, litteras tuas, quibus quanto opere laetatus sim, facile

aestimas, si reputaveris singula. Primum, quod caput est omnis mei gaudii, cum te bene valere cognovi, tum, quod ita amantem mei sensi, finem, ut amori nullum neque modum statuas, quin cottidie aliquid reperiās, quod circa me jucundius atque amicius facias. Ego denique olim jam me puto satis amari, tibi autem nondum, etiam quantum me diligas, satis est; ut non mare ullum tam sit profundum quam tuus adversus me amor: Sane, ut illud queri possim, cur me nondum ames tantum, quantum plurimum potest, namque in dies plus amando efficis, ne id, quod ante diem amaveris, plurimum fuerit.

Consulatum mihi putas tanto gaudio fuisse, quanto tua tot in una re summi amoris indicia? Orationis meae particulas, quas excerpseram. recitasti patri tuo ipse studiumque ad pronuntiandum adhibuisti, qua in re et oculos mihi tuos utendos et vocem et gestum et inprimis animum accomodasti. Nec video, quis veterum scriptorum quisquam me beatior fuerit, quorum scripta Aesopus ad populum pronuntiavit aut Roscius. Meae vero orationi M. Caesar actor contigit et pronuntiator, tuaque ego opera et voce audientibus placui, cum audiri a te ac tibi placere omnibus summe sit optabile. Non miror itaque, quod placuerit oratio oris tui dignitate exornata. Nam pleraque propria venustate carentia gratiam sibimet alienam extrinsecus mutuantur. Quod evenit etiam in plebis istis edulibus: Nullum adeo vile aut volgatum est holus aut pulpamentum, quin elegantius videatur vasis aureis adpositum. Idem evenit floribus et coronis: Alia dignitate sunt, quom a coronariis veneunt, alia, quom a sacerdotibus porriguntur.

Tantoque ego fortunatior, quam fuit Hercules atque Achilles, quorum arma et tela gestata sunt a Patricole et Philocteta, multo viris virtute inferioribus; mea contra oratio mediocris, ne dicam ignobilis, a doctissimo et facundissimo hominum Caesare inlustrata est. Nec ulla umquam scena tantum habuit dignitatis: M. Caesar actor, Titus imperator auditor. Quid amplius cuiquam contingere potest - nisi unum, quod in caelo fieri poetae ferunt, quom Jove patre audiente Musae cantant? Enimvero quibus ego gaudium meum verbis exprimere possim, quod orationem istam meam tua manu descriptam misisti mihi? Verum est profecto, quod ait noster Laberius, ad amorem iniciendum ‘delenimenta’ esse ‘deleramenta’, ‘beneficia’ autem ‘veneficia’. Quo poculo aut veneno quisquam tantum flammae ad amandum incussisset, praeut tu me et facto hoc stupidum et attonitum ardente amore tuo reddidisti? Quot litterae istic sunt, totidem consulatus mihi, totidem laureas, triumphos, togas pictas

arbitror contigisse. Quid tale M. Porcio aut Quinto Ennio, C. Graccho aut Titio poetae, quid Scipioni aut Numidico, quid M. Tullio tale usuvenit? Quorum libri pretiosiores habentur et summam gloriam retinent, si sunt Lampadionis aut Staberii, Plautii aut D. Aurelii, Autriconis aut Aelii manu scripta *exempla* aut a Tirone emendata aut a Domitio Balbo descripta aut ab Attico aut Nepote. Mea oratio extabit M. Caesaris manu scripta. Qui orationem spreverit, litteras concupiscet; qui scripta contempserit, scriptorem verebitur. Ut si simiam aut volpem Apelles pinxerit, ei bestiae nihili pictura pretium adderet; aut quod M. Cato de aegro servo <...>

[quattuor paginae desunt]

LIBER II

ad M. Caesarem 2.1

[16 VdH; 1.168 Haines]

Φρόντωνος πρὸς Ἡρώδην.

[una pagina legi non potest]

<...>τερον γε ὡς ἢ . . . ἡμᾶς· τὸ δὲ μετριάζειν ἐν τοῖς ἥττοσιν κακοῖς οὐ δύσκολον. ἐν παντὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ κατὰ πάντα θρηνεῖν κάποιμώζειν ἔξω τοῦ προσήκοντος ἀπρεπὲς ἀνδρὶ παιδείας χαίρων δὲ ἔγωγε μᾶλλον ἢ λυπούμενος μέτρια *ἀν ἐκβαίνοιμι*. τὸ γὰρ πρὸς ἡδονὴν παράλογον τοῦ πρὸς ἀνίαν αἰρετώτερον.

Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας σοι παρώχηκεν πρὸς παίδων ἐτέρων ἀνατροφὴν. ζημία δὲ πᾶσα σὺν ἐλπίδι μὲν ἀποκοπτομένη χαλεπή· ῥάων δὲ ὑπολειπομένης εἰς τὸ ἀναλαβεῖν ἐλπίδος· καὶ ὁ μὴ περιμείνας ταύτην ἀγεννὴς καὶ πολὺ τῆς τύχης αὐτῷ χαλεπώτερος· ἢ μὲν γε τύχη τὸ παρὸν ἀφείλετο, ὁ δὲ ἐστέρησεν αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος.

Ὅθεν δ' ἂν ῥᾶστα παραψυχῆς τύχοις, πείρα μαθὼν ἔγωγε, ἀλλὰ οὐ σοφία, διδάξω· αἰεὶ μοι συνέβη τι τῶν δεινῶν παθεῖν ἐρῶντι. ἥρων δὲ τοτὲ μὲν Ἀθηνοδότου τοῦ σοφοῦ, τοτὲ δὲ Διονυσίου τοῦ ῥήτορος, καὶ δὴ τοῦτο ἐννοῶν ὅτι μοι σώζοιτο κεῖνος οὐπὲρ ἐρῶν τύχοιμι, ἥττον ἦν τῇ λύπῃ καὶ τοῖς προσπίπτουσιν ἀλώσιμος. εἰ δέ τις ἐρᾷς καὶ σὺ νέου γενναίου ἀρετῇ καὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ τύχῃ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ διαφέροντος, οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοις ὁρμῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ πᾶσαν ἀγαθῶν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τιθέμενος, ὡς, ἐφ' ὅσον γε ἡμῖν οὗτος περίεστιν (ἀντεραστὴς γὰρ εἶναι σοί φημι, καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύπτομαι), τὰ ἄλλα γε πάντα ἡμῖν εὐάτα καὶ τούτου μακρῷ δεύτερα.

ad M. Caesarem 2.2

[17 VdH; 1.118 Haines]

Caesari Aurelio domino meo consul tuus Fronto sal(utem).

Quae sint aures hominum hoc tempore, quanta in spectandis orationibus elegantia, ex Aufidio nostro scire poteris: Quantos in oratione mea clamores concitarit, quantoque concentu laudantium sit exceptum “omnis tunc imago patriciis pingebatur insignibus”. At ubi genus nobile cum ignobili comparans dixi: “Ut si quis ignem e rogo et ara accensum similem putet, quoniam aequae luceat”, ad hoc pauculi admurmurati sunt. Quorsum hoc rettuli? Uti te,

domine, ita compares, ubi quid in coetu hominum recitabis, ut scias auribus serviendum; plane non ubique nec omni modo, attamen nonnumquam et aliquando. Quod ubi facies, simile facere te reputato, atque illud facitis, ubi eos, qui bestias stenue interfecerint, populo postulante ornatis aut manumittitis, nocentes etiam homines aut scelere damnatos, sed populo postulante conceditis. Ubique igitur populus dominatur, *praevalet* et praepollet. Igitur ut populo gratum erit, ita facies atque ita dices.

Hic summa illa virtus oratoris atque ardua est, ut non magno detrimento rectae eloquentiae auditores oblectet; eaque delenimenta, quae mulcendis volgi auribus comparat, ne cum multo ac magno dedecore fucata sint: Potius, ut in compositionis structuraeque mollitia sit delictum quam in sententia inpudentia; vestem quoque lanarum mollitia delicatam esse quam colore muliebri, filo tenui aut serico; purpuream ipsam, non luteam nec crocatam. Vobis praeterea, quibus purpura et cocco uti necessarium est, eodem cultu nonnumquam oratio quoque est amicienda. Facies istud, et temperaberis et moderaberis modo *temperamentoque* optimo. Sic enim auguror: Quicquid egregie umquam in eloquentia factum sit, te id perfecturum: Tanto ingenio es praeditus tantoque te studio exerces et labore, quom in aliis vel sine ingenio studium vel sine studio solum ingenium egregiam gloriam pepererit. Certum habeo te, domine, aliquantum temporis etiam prosae orationi scribendae impertire. Nam etsi aequae pernecitas equorum exercetur, sive quadripedo currant atque exerceantur sive tolutim, attamen ea, quae magis necessaria, frequentius sunt experiunda. Jam enim non ita tecum ago, ut te duos et viginti annos natum cogitem, qua aetate ego vixdum quicquam veterum lectione attigeram. Deorum et tua virtute profectum tantum in eloquentia adsecutus es, quantus senioribus ad gloriam sufficiat, et, quod est difficillimum, in omni genere dicendi. Nam epistulae tuae, quas adsidue scripsisti, mihi satis ostendunt, quid etiam in istis remissioribus et Tullianis facere possis.

Pro Polemone rhetore, quem mihi tu in epistula tua proxime exhibuisti Tullianum, ego in oratione, quam in senatu recitavi, philosophum reddidi, nisi me opinio fallit, peratticum. Ain, quid iudicas, Marce? Quemadmodum tibi videtur fabula Polemonis a me descripta? Plane multum mihi facetiarum contulit istic Horatius Flaccus, memorabilis poeta mihique propter Maecenatem ac Maecenatianos hortos meos non alienus. Is namque Horatius Sermonum libr(o) s(ecundo) fabulam istam Polemonis inseruit, si recte

memini, hisce versibus:

“Mutatus Polemon ponas insignia morbi,
fasciolas, cubital, focalia, potus ut ille
dicitur ex collo furtim carpsisse coronas,
postquam est inpransi correptus voce magistri.”

Versus, quos mihi miseras, remisi tibi per Victorinum nostrum atque ita remisi: Chartam diligenter lino transui et ita linum obsignavi, ne musculus iste aliquid aliqua rimari possit. Nam mihi ipse de tuis hexametris numquam quicquam impertivit, ita est malus ac malitiosus. Sed ait te de industria cito et cursim hexametros tuos recitare: Eo se memoriae mandare non posse. Remuneratus est igitur a me mutuo; paria paribus habet, ne ullum hinc versum audiret. Memini etiam te frequenter, ne cuiquam versus tuos ostenderem, admonuisse.

Quid est, domine? Certo hilaris es, certe bene vales, omnium rerum certe sanus es. Male dum similiter, ne umquam ita nos perturbes, ut natali tuo perturbasti; cetera minus laboro. “εἴ τί σοι κακόν, εἰς Πυρραίων κεφαλὴν”. Vale, meum gaudium, mea securitas, hilaritas, gloria. Vale et me, obsecro, omni modo ames, qua joco, qua serio.

Epistulam matri tuae scripsi, quae mea inpudentia est, Graece, eamque epistulae ad te scriptae implicui. Tu prior lege et, si quis inerit barbarismus, tu, qui a Graecis litteris recentior es, corrige atque ita matri redde. Nolo enim me mater tua ut Opicum contemnat. Vale, domine, et matri savium da, cum epistulam dabis, quo libentius legat.

ad M. Caesarem 2.3

[21 VdH; 1.130 Haines]

Μητρὶ Καίσαρος.

Πῶς ἂν ἀπολογησάμενος συγγνώμης παρὰ σοῦ τύχοιμι, ὅτι σοι τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν οὐκ ἐπέστειλα; ἢ δὴλον, ὅτι τὴν ἀληθῆ τῆς ἀσχολίας εἰπὼν αἰτίαν; λόγον γάρ τινα συνήγαγον περὶ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως. ἡ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων παροιμία φίλου τρόπον μὴ μισεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰδέναι φησὶ δεῖν. οἷος δ' οὐμὸς τρόπος φράσω καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι. ὑπὸ τῆς πολλῆς ἀφύιας καὶ οὐθενείας ὁμοίον τι πάσχω τῇ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὑαίνει καλουμένη ἥς τὸν τράχηλον κατ' εὐθὺ τετάσθαι λέγουσιν, κάμπτεσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῶν πλευρῶν μὴ

δύνασθαι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐπειδὴν τι συντάττω προθυμότερον, ἀκαμπῆς τίς εἰμι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀφέμενος, ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἵεμαι ἀνεπιστρεπτὶ κατὰ τὴν ὕαιναν. καὶ τοὺς ὄφεις δὲ φασιν τὰ ἀκόντια οὕτως πως ἄττειν κατ' εὐθύ, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας στροφὰς μὴ στρέφεσθαι· καὶ τὰ δόρατα δὲ καὶ τὰ τόξα τότε μάλιστα τυγχάνει τοῦ σκοποῦ, ὅταν εὐθεῖαν ἄξῃ μήτε ὑπ' ἀνέμου παρωσθέντα μήτε ὑπὸ χειρὸς Ἀθηνᾶς ἢ Ἀπόλλωνος σφαλέντα, ὥσπερ τὰ ὑπὸ Τεύκρου ἢ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν μνηστήρων βληθέντα.

Ταύτας μὲν δὴ τρεῖς εἰκόνας ἐμαυτῷ προσεῖκασα, τὰς μὲν δύο ἀγρίας καὶ θηριώδεις, τὴν τῆς ὑαίνης καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄφεων, τρίτην δὲ τὴν τῶν βελῶν καὶ αὐτὴν ἀπάνθρωπον οὖσαν καὶ ἄμουσον. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀνέμων φαίην ἐπαινέσθαι μάλιστα τὸν οὐρίον, ὅτι δὴ ἐπ' εὐθὺ φέροι τὴν ναῦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ εἰς τὰ πλάγια ἀπονέμειν ἐῷ, ἡ τετάρτη ἂν εἴη αὕτη εἰκὼν καὶ αὕτη βιαία. εἰ δὲ προσθεῖην καὶ τὸ τῆς γραμμῆς ὅτι πρεσβυτάτη τῶν γραμμῶν ἡ εὐθεῖα ἐστίν, πέμπτην ἂν εἰκόνα λέγοιμι μὴ μόνον ἄψυχον ὥσπερ τὴν τῶν δοράτων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσώματον ταύτην οὖσαν.

Τίς ἂν οὖν εἰκὼν εὐρεθείη πιθανή; μάλιστα μὲν ἀνθρωπίνη, ἅμεινον δὲ, εἰ καὶ μουσική. εἰ δ' αὖ καὶ φιλίας ἢ ἔρωτος αὐτῇ μετείη, μᾶλλον ἂν ἔτι ἡ εἰκὼν ἐοίκοι. τὸν Ὀρφέα φασὶν οἰμῶξαι ὀπίσω ἐπιστραφέντα· εἰ δὲ κατ' εὐθὺ ἐβλεπέν τε καὶ ἐβάδιζεν, οὐκ ἂν ὤμωξεν. ἄλλος εἰκόνων. καὶ γὰρ αὕτη τις ἀπίθανος ἡ τοῦ Ὀρφέως εἰκὼν ἐξ ἄδου ἀνιμημένη.

Ἀπολογήσομαι δὲ τοῦντεῦθεν ἤδη ὅθεν ἂν ῥᾶστα συγγνώμης τύχοιμι. τί δὴ τοῦτό ἐστιν; ὅτι συγγράφων τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγκώμιον ἔπραττον μὲν, ὃ μάλιστα σοί τε καὶ τῷ σῷ παιδὶ κεχαρισμένον ἐστίν· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ὑμῶν ἐμεινήμεν καὶ ὠνόμαζόν γε ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ συγγράμματι, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐρασταὶ τοὺς φιλότατους ὠνόμαζουσιν ἐπὶ πάσῃ κύλικι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τέχνωσις τῶν εἰκόνων ἐπεισεῖ καὶ ἐπιφύεται. αὕτη γοῦν παρεφάνη, ἣν ἐπὶ πάσαις λέγω, ἣτις καὶ δικαιοτάτα εἰκὼν ἂν προσαγορεύοιτο οὖσα ἐκ ζωγράφου· τὸν Πρωτογένη τὸν ζωγράφον φασὶν ἔνδεκα ἔτεσιν τὸν Ἰάλυσον γράψαι, μηδὲν ἕτερον ἐν τοῖς ἔνδεκα ἔτεσιν ἢ τὸν Ἰάλυσον γράφοντα. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐχ εἷς, δύο δὲ ἅμα Ἰαλύσω ἐγραφέσθην, οὐ δὴ τοῖν προσώποιν οὐδὲ ταῖν μορφαῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖν τρόποιν καὶ ταῖν ἀρεταῖν οὐ μετρίῳ ὄντε ἄμφω οὐδὲ γράφεσθαι ῥαδίῳ, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐστίν μέγας βασιλεὺς ἄρχων πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ θαλάττης, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος υἱὸς μεγάλου βασιλέως, ἐκείνου μὲν οὕτω παῖς ὥσπερ Ἀθάνα τοῦ Διός, σὸς δὲ υἱὸς ὡς τῆς Ἥρας ὁ Ἥφαιστος· ἀπέστω δὲ τὸ τῶν ποδῶν ταύτης τῆς τοῦ Ἥφαιστου εἰκόνας. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀπολογία αὕτη ἂν εἴη πάνυ τις εἰκαστική

γενομένη καὶ γραφικὴ εἰκόνων ἔκπλεως αὐτή.

Μάλ' ἔτι κατὰ τοὺς γεωμέτρας αἰτήσομαι· τὸ ποῖον; εἴ τι τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ταύταις εἴη ἄκυρον ἢ βάρβαρον ἢ ἄλλως ἀδόκιμον ἢ μὴ πάνυ Ἀττικόν, ἀμελεῖν μὲν τοῦ ὀνόματος σ' ἀξιῶ τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν σκοπεῖν αὐτὴν καθ' αὐτήν· οἶσθα γὰρ ὅτι ἐν αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν καὶ αὐτῇ διαλέκτῳ διατρίβω. καὶ γὰρ τὸν Σκύθην ἐκείνον τὸν Ἀναχάρσιν οὐ πάνυ τι ἀττικίσαι φασίν, ἐπαινεθῆναι δ' ἐκ τῆς διανοίας καὶ τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων. παραβαλὼ δὴ ἑμαυτὸν Ἀναχάρσιδι οὐ μὰ Δία κατὰ τὴν σοφίαν ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ βάρβαρος ὁμοίως εἶναι. ἦν γὰρ ὁ μὲν Σκύθης τῶν νομάδων Σκυθῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ Λίβυς τῶν Λιβύων τῶν νομάδων. κοινὸν δὲ ἦν τὸ νέμεσθαι ἑμοί τε καὶ Ἀναχάρσιδι· κοινὸν οὖν ἔσται καὶ τὸ βληχᾶσθαι νεμομένοις, ὅπως ἂν τις βληχῆσθαι. οὕτως μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ βαρβαρίζειν τῷ βληχᾶσθαι προσήκασα. οὐκοῦν παύσομαι μηδὲν ἕτερον γράφων ἀλλὰ εἰκόνας.

[tres fere paginae desunt]

ad M. Caesarem 2.4

[24 VdH; 1.108 Haines]

Caesari suo consul.

Posterioribus litteris tuis, cur orationem in senatu non recitaverim, requisisti. At ego et edicto gratias agere domino meo patri tuo debeo, sed edictum quidem circensibus nostris proponam; cujus principium id ipsum erit: “Qua die primum beneficio maximi principis ederem spectaculum gratissimum populo maximeque populare, tempestivum duxi esse gratiae agere ut idem dies”, hic aliqua sequatur Tulliana conclusio. Orationem autem in senatu recitabo Augustis Idibus. Quaeras fortasse, cur *tam* tarde? Quoniam ego numquam *quam* primum officio sollemni quoquo modo fungi propero. Sed ut tecum agere debeo sine fuco et sine ambagibus, dicam, quid cum animo meo reputem. Divum Hadrianum avom tuom laudavi in senatu saepenumero studio inpenso et propenso quoque; et sunt orationes istae frequentes in omnium manibus. Hadrianum autem ego, quod bona venia pietatis tuae dictum sit, ut Martem Gradivum, ut Ditem patrem propitium et placatum magis volui quam amavi. Quare? Quia ad amandum fiducia aliqua opus est et familiaritate: Quia fiducia mihi defuit, eo, quem tantopere venerabar, non sum ausus diligere. Antoninum vero ut solem, ut diem, ut vitam, ut spiritum amo, diligo, amari me ab eo sentio. Hunc nisi ita laudo, ut

laudatio me non in actis senatus abstrusa lateat, sed in manibus hominum oculisque versetur, ingratus sum etiam adversus te. Tum quod cursorem fugitivom ferunt dixisse, “domino sexagena currebam; mihi centena, ut fugiam, curram”, ego quoque quom Hadrianum laudabam domino currebam; hodie autem mihi curro, mihi, inquam, meoque ingenio hanc orationem conscribo. Ad meum igitur commodum faciam lente, otiose, clementer.

Tu si et valde properas, aliter te interim oblecta: Basia patrem tuum, amplectere, postremo ipse eum lauda. Ceterum quidem in Idus Augustas tibi expectandum est, ut quidvis, qualevis audias. Vale, Caesar, et patrem promerere; et si quid scribere vis, lente scribe.

ad M. Caesarem 2.5

[25 VdH; 1.112 Haines]

Mi *Fronto consul* amplissime.

Manus do: Vicisti. Tu plane omnis, qui umquam amatores fuerunt, vicisti amando. Cape coronam, atque etiam praeco pronuntiet palam pro tuo tribunali victoriam istam tuam: M. Κορνήλιος Φρόντων ὕπατος νικᾷ, στεφανοῦται τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν μεγάλων φιλοτησίων. At ego quamquam superatus tamen nihil de mea prothymia decessero aut defecero. Igitur tu quidem me magis amabis, quam ullus hominum ullum hominem amat; ego vero te, qui minorem vim in amando possideo, magis amabo, quam ullus hominum te amat, magis denique, quam tu temet ipsum amas. Jam mihi cum Cratia certamen erit, quam timeo, ut superare possim. Nam illius quidem, ut Plautus ait, “amoris imber grandibus guttis non vestem modo permanavit sed in medullam ultro fluit”.

Quas tu litteras te ad me existimas scripsisse! Ausim dicere, quae me genuit atque aluit, nihil umquam tam jucundum tamque mellitum eam ad me scripsisse. Neque hoc fit facundia aut eloquentia: Alioqui non modo mater mea, sed omnes, qui spirant, quod faciunt, confestim tibi cesserint. Sed istae litterae ad me tuae neque disertae neque doctae, tanta benignitate scatentes, tanta adfectione abundantes, tanto amore lucentes, non satis proloqui possum, ut animum meum gaudio in altum sustulerint, desiderio fragrantissimo incitaverint, postremo, quod ait Naevius, “animum amore capitali conpleverint”.

3 Illa alia epistula tua, qua indicabas, cur tardius orationem, qua laudaturus es dominum meum in senatu, prolaturus esses, tanta me voluptate adfecit, ut

temperare non potuerim (et videris tu, an temere fecerim), quin eam ipsi patri meo recitarem. Quanto opere autem eum iuverit, nihil me oportet persequi, quom tu et illius summam benevolentiam et tuarum litterarum egregiam elegantiam noris. Sed ex ea re longus sermo nobis super te exortus est, multo multoque longior quam tibi et quaestori tuo de me. Itaque nec tibi dubito ibidem in foro diu tinnisse auriculas. Conprobat igitur dominus meus et amat causas, propter quas recitationem tuam in longiorem diem protulisti <...>

[quattuor paginae desunt]

ad M. Caesarem 2.6

[27 VdH; 1.128 Haines]

M. Aurelius Caesar consuli suo et magistro salutem.

<...> sane, si quid Graeci veteres tale scripserunt, viderint, qui sciunt; ego, si fas est dicere, nec M. Porcium tam bene vituperantem, quam tu laudasti usquam advorti. O, si dominus meus satis laudari posset, profecto a te satis laudatus esset! τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οὐ γίνεται νῦν. Facilius quis Phidian, facilius Apellen, facilius denique ipsum Demosthenen imitatus fuerit aut ipsum Catonem quam hoc tam effectum et elaboratum opus. Nihil ego umquam cultius, nihil antiquius, nihil conditius, nihil Latinius legi. O te hominem beatum hac eloquentia praeditum! O me hominem beatum huic magistro traditum! Ο ἐπιχειρήματα, ο τάξεις, ο elegantia, ο lepos, ο venustas, ο verba, ο nitor, ο argutiae, ο χάριτες, ο ἄσκησις, ο omnia! Ne valeam, nisi aliqua die virga in manibus tibi tradenda erat, diadema circumponendum, tribunal ponendum; tum praeco omnis nos citaret. Quid ‘nos’ dico? Omnis, inquam, philologos et disertos istos: Eos tu singulos virga perduceres, verbis moneres. Mihi adhuc nullus metus hujus admonitionis erat: Multa supersunt, ut in ludum tuum pedem introferam.

Haec cum summa festinatione ad te scribo; nam quom domini mei ad te epistulam mitterem tam benignam, quid meis longioribus litteris opus erat? Igitur vale, decus eloquentiae Romanae, amicorum gloria, μέγα πρᾶγμα, homo jucundissime, consul amplissime, magister dulcissime. Postea cavebis de me, praesertim in senatu, tam multa mentiri. Horribiliter scripsisti hanc orationem. O, si ad singula capita caput tuum basiare possem! ἰσχυρῶς πάντων καταπεφρόνηκας. Hac oratione lecta frustra nos studemus, frustra laboramus, frustra nervos contendimus. Vale semper, magister dulcissime.

[28 VdH; 1.116 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Ego ab hora quarta et dimidia in hanc horam scripsi et Catonis multa legi et haec ad te eodem calamo scripto et te saluto et, quam commode agas, sciscitor. O, quam diu te non vidi!

[duae paginae desunt]

ad M. Caesarem 2.8

[28 VdH; 1.136 Haines]

Amplissimo consuli magistro suo M. Caesar salutem.

<...> adfinitate sociatum neque tutelae subditum, praeterea in ea fortuna constitutum, in qua, ut Q. Ennius ait, “omnes dant consilium vanum atque ad voluptatem omnia”; item quod Plautus egregie in Colace super eadem re ait.

Qui data fide firmata fidentem fefellerint,
subdoli subsentatores regi, qui sunt proximi,
qui aliter regi dictis dicunt, aliter in animo habent.

Haec enim olim incommoda regibus solis fieri solebant, atenim nunc adfatim sunt “quei et regum filiis”, ut Naevius ait, “linguis faveant atque adnutent et subserviant”. Merito ego, mi magister, fraglo; merito unum meum σκοπόν mihi constitui; merito unum hominem cogito, quom stilus in manus venit.

Hexametros meos jucundissime petis; quos ego quoque confestim misissem, si illos mecum haberem. Nam librarius meus, quem tu nosti, Anicetum dico, cum proficiscerer, nihil meorum scriptorum mecum misit. Scit enim morbum meum et timuit, ne si venissent in potestatem, quod soleo, facerem et in furnum ditterem. Sane istis hexametris prope nullum periculum erat. Ut enim verum magistro meo confitear, amo illos.

Ego istic noctibus, confiteor, studeo, nam interdiu in theatro consumitur. Itaque minus ago vespera fatigatus, surgo luce dormitans. Feci tamen mihi per hos dies excerpta ex libris sexaginta in quinque tomis, sed cum leges ‘sexaginta’, inibi sunt et Novianae Atellaniolae et Scipionis oratiunculae, ne tu numerum nimis expavescas.

Polemonis tui quom meministi, rogo, ne Horatii memineris, qui mihi cum

Pollione est emortuus.

Vale, mi amicissime, vale mi amantissime, consul amplissime, magister dulcissime, quem ego biennio jam non vidi. Nam quod ajunt quidam duos menses interfuisse, tantum dies numerant. Eritne, quom te videbo?

ad M. Caesarem 2.9

[29 VdH; 1.140 Haines]

Amplissimo consuli magistro suo M. Caesar salutem.

Anno abhinc tertio me commemini cum patre meo a vindemia redeuntem in agrum Pompei Falconis devertere. Ibi me videre arborem multorum ramorum, quam ille suum nomen catachannam nominabat. Sed illa arbor mira et nova visa est mihi, in uno trunco omnia omnium ferme germina

[duae paginae deesse videntur]

ad M. Caesarem 2.10

[29 VdH; 1.116 Haines]

M. Aurelius Caesar consuli suo et magistro salutem.

<...>deatur. Polemona ante hoc triduum declamantem audivimus, ἵνα τι καὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπων λαλήσωμεν. Si quaeris, quid visus sit mihi, accipe: Videtur mihi agricola strenuus, summa sollertia praeditus latum fundum in sola segete frumenti et vitibus occupasse, ubi sane et fructus pulcherrimus et reditus uberrimus. Sedenim nusquam in eo rure ficus Pompejana vel holus Acrinum vel rosa Tarentina vel nemus amoenum vel densior lucus vel platanus umbrosa: Omnia ad usum magis quam ad voluptatem, quaeque magis laudare oporteat, amare non libeat. Satisne ego audaci consilio et iudicio temerario videar, cum de tantae gloriae viro existimo? Sed quom me recordor tibi scribere, minus me audere, quam tu velis, arbitror.

Nos istic vehementer aestuamus. Habes et hendecasyllabum ingenuum. Igitur priusquam poetarei incipio, pausan tecum facio. Desiderantissime homo et tuo Vero carissime, consul amplissime, magister dulcissime, vale, mi, semper, anima dulcissima.

ad M. Caesarem 2.11

[30 VdH; 1.140 Haines]

M. Aurelius Caesar consuli suo et magistro salutem

Postquam ad te proxime scripsi, postea nihil opera pretium, quod ad te scriberetur, aut quod cognitum ad aliquem modum juvaret. Nam διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν fere dies tramisimus: Idem theatrum, idem odium, idem desiderium tuum. Quid dico ‘idem’? Immo id cottidie novatur et gliscit et, quod ait Laberius de amore, suo modo καὶ ἐπὶ ἰδίᾳ μουσῇ, “amor tuus tam cito crescit quam porrus, tam firme quam palma”. Hoc igitur ego ad desiderium verto, quod ille de amore ait.

Volo ad te plura scribere, sed nihil suppetit. Ecce, quod in animum venit: Encomiographos istic audimus, Graecos scilicet, sed miros mortales, ut ego, qui a Graeca litteratura tantum absum, quantum a terra Graecia mons Caelius meus abest, tamen me sperem illis comparatum etiam Theopompum aequiparare posse; nam hunc audio apud Graecos disertissimum natum esse. Igitur paene me Opicum animantem ad Graecam scripturam perpulerunt “homines”, ut Caecilius ait, “incolumi scientia”.

Caelum Neapolitanum plane commodum, sed vehementer varium. In singulis scripulis horarum frigidius aut tepidius aut torridius fit. Jam primum media nox tepida, Laurentina; tum autem gallicinium frigidulum, Lanuvinum; jam conticinium atque matutinum atque diluculum usque ad solis ortum gelidum, ad Algidum maxime; exin antemeridie apricum, Tusculanum; tum meridies fervida, Puteolana; atenim ubi sol lautum ad Oceanum profectus, fit demum caelum modestius, quod genus Tiburtinum. Id vespera et concubia nocte, “dum se intempesta nox”, ut ait M. Porcius, “praecipitat”, eodem modo perseverat.

Sed quid ego, me qui paucula scripturum promisi, deliramenta Masuriana congero? Igitur vale, magister benignissime, consul amplissime, et me, quantum amas, tantum desidera.

ad M. Caesarem 2.12

[31 VdH; 1.144 Haines]

Caesari suo consul.

Meum fratrem beatum, qui vos in isto biduo viderit! At ego Romae haereo conpedibus aureis vinctus, nec aliter Kal(endis) Sept(embribus) expecto quam superstitiosi stellam, qua visa jejunium polluant. Vale, Caesar, decus patriae et Romani nominis. Vale, domine.

ad M. Caesarem 2.13

Domino meo.

Cratiam misi ad diem natalem matris tuae celebrandum eique praecepi, ut istic subsisteret, quoad ego venirem. Eodem autem momento, quo consulatum ejuravero, vehiculum conscendam et ad vos pervolabo. Interim Cratiae meae nullum a fame periculum fore fide mea spocondi: Mater enim tua particulas a te sibi missas cum clienta communicabit; neque est Cratia mea, ut causidicorum uxores feruntur, multi cibi. Vel osculis solis matris tuae contenta vixerit. Sed enim quid me fiet? Ne osculum quidem usquam ullum est Romae residuum. Omnes meae fortunae, mea omnia gaudia Neapoli sunt. Oro te, quis iste mos est pridie magistratus ejurandi? Quid, quod ego paratus sum, dum ante plures dies ejurem, per plures deos jurare? Quid est autem, quod juraturus sum me consulatu abire? Ego vero etiam illud juravero, me olim consulatu abire cupere, ut M. Aurelium conplexar.

ad M. Caesarem 2.14

Consuli et magistro meo optimo.

Hoc sane supererat, ut super cetera, quae insigniter erga nos facis, etiam Cratiam mitteres huc <...>

[sex vel paulo plures paginae desunt]

ad M. Caesarem 2.15

Μητρί Καίσαρος.

Ἐκὼν ἐκὼν νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ πάνυ γε προθυμούμενος τὴν ἐμὴν Κρατείαν ἐξέπεμψα συνεορτάσουσάν σοι τὰ γενέθλια καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν ἀφικόμενος εἰ ἐξῆν. ἀλλὰ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἐνποδὼν ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρχὴ πρὸς τῷ ποδὶ ἤδη οὕσα. ὀλίγαι γὰρ ἡμέραι λοιπαὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς περιλείπονται καὶ μᾶλλον τε ἄσχολοι διὰ τὰς λειτουργίας· ὦν ἀπαλλαγεῖς ἔοικα δραμεῖσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τῶν τὸν στάδιον τρεχόντων πολὺ προθυμότερον· ὥς ἐκεῖνοί γε βραχύτατον χρόνον ἐπὶ τῆς ὕσπληγος ἐπιστάντες, ἔπειτα ἀφεῖνται τρέχειν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτον ἤδη μῆνα δεύτερον εἶργομαι τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς δρόμου.

ἐχρῆν δὲ ἄρα πάσας τὰς πανταχόθεν γυναῖκας ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀθροίζεσθαι καὶ ἐορτάζειν τὰ σὰ γενέθλια, πρῶτας μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν τὰς φιλάνδρους καὶ φιλοτέκνους καὶ σώφρονας, δευτέρας δὲ ὅσαι ἄπλαστοι καὶ

ἀνευδεῖς εἰσίν, τρίτας δὲ ἐορτάζειν τὰς εὐγνώμονας καὶ εὐπροσίτους καὶ εὐπροσηγόρους καὶ ἀτύφους. πολλαὶ δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλαι γυναικῶν τάξεις γένοιτο τῶν σοὶ μέρους τινὸς ἐπαίνου καὶ ἀρετῆς μετεχουσῶν, σοῦ μὲν ἀπάσας τὰς γυναικὶ πρεπούσας ἀρετὰς καὶ ἐπιστήμας κεκτημένης καὶ ἐπισταμένης, ὥσπερ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ τέχνας ἀπάσας κέκτηται τε καὶ ἐπίσταται, τῶν ἄλλων δὲ γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς μέρος ἐκάστης ἐπισταμένης καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἐπαινουμένης, οἷος ὁ τῶν Μουσῶν ἔπαινος ἐκ μιᾶς τέχνης καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην διηρημένος.

Εἰ δ' ἦν ἐγὼ πρὸ θύρας εἰσαγωγεὺς τις εἶναι λαχὼν τῶν τῆς ἐορτῆς ἀξίων, πρῶτας ἂν Ὀμήρῳ πειθόμενος ἀπέκλεια τὰς τὴν εὐνοίαν ψευδομένας καὶ πλαττομένας καὶ ἕτερον μὲν τι κευθούσας ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ λεγούσας, ἅπαντα δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ γέλωτος μέχρι δακρύων προσποιουμένας. ὁ τοι γέλως οὕτως τὸ πρὶν ἄδολος εἶναι πεφυκὼς ὥς καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας τῶν γελώντων ἐπιδεικνύειν εἰς τοσοῦτον ἤδη περιέστηκε κακομηχανίας καὶ ἐνέδρας, ὥς καὶ τὰ χεῖλη κρύπτειν τῶν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς προσγελώντων. γυναικεῖα δὴ τις αὕτη θεὸς παρὰ ταῖς πλείσταις τῶν γυναικῶν θρησκεύεται ἡ Ἀπάτη· τίς γοῦν Ἀφροδίτης τόκος ἐκ πολλῶν τινων καὶ ποικίλων θηλειῶν κατασκευασαμένης <...>

[plures paginae desunt]

ad M. Caesarem 2.16

[34 VdH; 1.150 Haines]

Magistro meo.

<...> et meus me alipta faucibus urgebat. Sed quae, inquis, fabula? Ut pater meus a vineis domum se recepit, ego solito more equom inscendi et in viam profectus sum et paululum provectus. Deinde ibi in via sic oves multae conglobatae adstabant, ut locis solet artis, et canes quattuor et duo pastores, sed nihil praeterea. Tum pastor unus ad alterum pastorem, postquam plusculos equites vidit, “vide tibi istos equites”, inquit, “nam illi solent maximas rapinationes facere”. Ubi id audiui, calcar equo subpingo, ecum in ovis inigo. Oves consternatae disperguntur; aliae alibi palantes balantesque oberrant. Pastor furcam intorquet; furca in equitem, qui me sectabatur, cadit. Nos aufugimus. Eo pacto, qui metuebat, ne ovis amitteret, furcam perdidit. Fabulam existimas? Res vera est; at etiam plura erant, quae de ea rescriberem, nisi jam me nuntius in balneum arcesseret. Vale, mi magister

dulcissime, homo honestissime et rarissime, suavitas et caritas et voluptas mea.

ad M. Caesarem 2.17

[34 VdH; 1.152 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Cratia minor fecit, quod Cratia major facit, ut sollicitudinem nostram vel interim minuatur vel jam omnino detergeat. Ego tibi de patrono meo M. Porcio gratias ago, quod eum crebro lectitas. Tu mihi de C. Crispo timeo ut umquam gratias agere possis, nam uni M. Porcio me dedicavi atque despondi atque delegavi. Hoc etiam ipsum ‘atque’ unde putas? Ex ipso furore. Perendinus dies meus dies festus erit, si certe tu venis. Vale, amicissime et rarissime homo, dulcissime magister.

Die senatus hujus magis hic futuri quam illuc venturi videmur. Sed utrumque in ambiguo est. Tu modo perendie veni, et fiat, quod volt. Semper mi vale, animus meus. Mater mea te tuosque salutat.

ad M. Caesarem 2.18

[35 VdH; 1.152 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Tu cum sine me es, Catonem legis, at ego quom sine te sum, causidicos in undecimam horam audio. Equidem velim istam noctem, quae sequitur, quam brevissimam esse. Tanti est minus lucubrare, ut te maturius videam. Vale, mi magister dulcissime. Mater mea te salutat. Spiritum vix habeo, ita sum defessus.

ad M. Caesarem 2.19

[35 VdH; 1.154 Haines]

M. Caesar magistro suo salutem dicit.

Proficio: Ista tua benignitate magnum mihi negotium peperisti. Nam illa cottidie tua Lorium ventio, illa in serum expectatio <...>

[complures paginae desunt]

LIBER III

ad M. Caesarem 3.1

[35 VdH; 1.52 Haines]

Domino meo.

<...> verborum honestatur, fit plane inpudens atque inpudica. Denique idem tu, quom in senatu vel in contione populi dicendum fuit, nullo verbo remotiore usus es, nulla figura obscura aut insolenti: Ut qui scias eloquentiam Caesaris tubae similem esse debere, non tibiarum, in quibus minus est soni, plus difficultatis.

ad M. Caesarem 3.2

[36 VdH; 1.58 Haines]

Aurelius Caesar Frontoni suo salutem.

Saepe te mihi dixisse scio quaerere te, quid maxime facere gratum mihi. Id tempus nunc adest: Nunc amorem erga te meum augere potes - si augeri potest. Adpropinquat cognitio, in qua homines non modo orationem tuam benigne audituri, sed indignationem maligne spectaturi videntur. Neque ullum video, qui te in hac re monere audeat. Nam, qui minus amici sunt, malunt te inspectare inconstantius agentem; qui autem magis amici sunt, metuunt, ne adversario tuo amiciores esse videantur, si te ab accusatione ejus propria tua abducant. Tum autem, si quod tu in eam rem dictum elegantius meditatus es, per silentium dictionem auferre tibi non sustinent. Adeo sive tu me temerarium consultorem sive audacem puerulum sive adversario tuo benivolentiorum esse existimabis, non propterea, quod rectius esse arbitrabor, pedetemptius tibi consulam, sed quid dixi 'consulam', qui id a te postulo et magno opere postulo et me, si inpetro, obligari tibi repromitto. Et dices: "Quid? Si lacessitus fuero, non eum simili dicto remunerabo?" At ex eo tibi majorem laudem quaeris, si nec lacessitus quicquam responderis. Verum, si prior fecerit, respondentem tibi utcumque poterit ignosci; ut autem non inciperet, postulavi ab eo, et impetrasse me credo. Utrumque enim vestrum pro suis quemque meritis diligo et scio illum quidem in avi mei P. Calvisii domo eruditum, me autem apud te eruditum. Propterea maximam curam in animo meo habeo, uti quam honestissime negotium istud odiosissimum transigatur. Opto, ut consilium conprobes, nam voluntatem conprobabis. Ego certe minus

sapienter magis scripsero, quam minus amice tacuero. Vale, mi Fronto carissime et amicissime.

ad M. Caesarem 3.3

[36 VdH; 1.62 Haines]

Domino meo Caesari Fronto.

Merito ego me devovi tibi, merito fructus vitae meae omnis in te ac tuo parente constitui. Quid fieri amicus, quid jucundius, quid verius potest? Aufer ista, obsecro, ‘puerulum audacem’ aut ‘temerarium consultorem’. Periculum est plane, ne tu quicquam pueriliter aut inconsulte suadeas? Mihi crede, si tu vis (si minus, egomet mihi credam), seniorum a te prudentiam exsuperari. Denique in isto negotio tuum consilium canum et grave, meum vero puerile deprendo. Quid enim opus est aequis et iniquis spectaculum praeberere? Sive sit iste Herodes vir frugi et pudicus, protelarei conviciis talem a me virum non est verum; sive nequam et improbus est, non aequa mihi cum eo certatio neque idem detrimenti capitur. Omnis enim cum polluto complexus, tametsi superes, commaculat. Sed illud verius est, probum virum esse, quem tu dignum tutela tua iudicas. Quod si umquam scissem, tum me di omnes male adflixint, si ego verbo laedere ausus fuisset quemquam amicum tibi. Nunc me velim pro tuo erga me amore, quo sum beatissimus, in hac etiam parte consilio juves. Quin nihil extra causam dicere debeam, quod Heroden laedat, non dubito. Sed ea, quae in causa sunt (sunt autem atrocissima), quemadmodum tractem, id ipsum est, quod addubito et consilium posco: Dicendum est de hominibus liberis crudeliter verberatis et spoliatis, uno vero occiso; dicendum de filio impio et precum paternarum inmemore; saevitia et avaritia exprobanda; carnifex quidam Herodes in hac causa constituendus. Quodsi in istis criminibus, quibus causa nititur, putas debere me ex summis opibus adversarium urgere et premere, fac me, domine optime et mihi dulcissime, consilii tui certiolem. Si vero in his quoque remittendum aliquid putas, quod tu suaseris, id optimum factu ducam. Illud quidem, ut dixi, firmum et ratum habeto nihil extra causam de moribus et cetera ejus vita me dicturum. Quodsi tibi videbitur servire me causae debere, jam nunc admoneo ne me inmoderate usurum quidem causae occasione: Atrocia enim sunt crimina et atrociter dicenda; illa ipsa de laesis et spoliatis hominibus ita a me dicuntur, ut fel et bilem sapiant; sicubi Graeculum et indoctum dicero, non erit

internecivum.

Vale, Caesar, et me, ut facis, ama plurimum. Ego vero etiam litterulas tuas diŕ amo. Quare cupiam, ubi quid ad me scribes, tua manu scribas.

ad M. Caesarem 3.4

[38 VdH; 1.66 Haines]

Have, domine.

Clausa jam et obsignata epistula priore venit mihi in mentem fore, uti ei, qui causam hanc agunt (acturi autem complures videntur), dicant aliquid in Heroden inclementius; cui rei, quemadmodum me unum putas, prospice. Vale, domine, et vive, ut ego sim beatus. Acturi videntur Capreolus, qui nunc abest, et Marcianus noster; videtur etiam Julianus.

ad M. Caesarem 3.5

[38 VdH; 1.66 Haines]

Have, mi Fronto carissime.

Jam hinc tibi, mi Fronto carissime, gratias ago habeoque, cum consilium meum non tantum non repudiasti, sed etiam conprobasti. De iis autem, quae per litteras amicissimas tuas consulis, ita existimo: Omnia, quae ad causam, quam tueris, adtinent, plane proferunda; quae ad tuas proprias adfectiones adtinent, licet justa et provocata sint, tamen reticenda. Ita neque fidem in negotio pannychio neque modestiam in existimatione tua laeseris s meo an tis lis ceteri en mihi partam cueet dicant, quae . . . at me enim una haec cura maxime exercet, ne quid tu tale dicas, quod tuis moribus indignum, negotio inutile, circumstantibus reprehensibile videatur esse. Vale, mihi Fronto carissime et jucundissime mihi.

ad M. Caesarem 3.6

[39 VdH; 1.68 Haines]

Domino meo.

Ita faciam, domine, quom hoc tum omnia, quod ad . u . m aut te velle intellexero. Alia item omnia faciam, teque oro et quaeso, ne umquam, quod a me fieri volueris, reticeas, sed ut nunc aptissima suadeas. Ita enim neque umquam fac adversus voluntatem tuam quicquam incipiam. Malim

etiam nuic pessiis in causa cuo in causa sunt, singillatim sunt, ut Ciceronis modum proferamus. Nam cum in tantulum vel consultum cogunt versum, cupio praesertim quom par . . . sed pugna mi es hoc modo transigi possit. Quodsi agemus perpetuis orationibus, licet extra causam nihil progrediar, tamen et oculis acrioribus et voce vehementi et verbis gravibus utendum est. Malim autem jam . . . hic digito irato quod alii hominem tuum laesisse, sed difficile est, ut istud ab eo inpetrari possit: Dicitur enim cupidine agendi flagrare. Nec reprehendo tamen ne hoc quidem, sed vide, moneo, ne tibi ipsa illa, quae in causa sunt, infestius prolata videantur. Verum et ipse suades inprimis fidei parendum: Et si armis vel palaestrica ludas, ne has quidem ludicras exercitationes sine contentione confici posse fac *arbitreris* et inedia disertis vel tui plus adeo supta. Et ratis s facundior lucta . . arna laudavi beatius Opicum tuum.

ad M. Caesarem 3.7

[40 VdH; 1.32 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Quom tu quiescis et, quod commodum valetudini sit, facis, tum me recreavi. Libenter et otiose age. Sentio ergo: Recte fecisti, quod brachio curando operam dedisti. Ego quoque hodie a septima in lectulo nonnihil egi, nam εἰκόνας decem ferme expedivi. *In* nona te socium et optionem mihi sumo, nam minus secunda fuit in persequendo mihi. Est autem, quod in insula Aenaria intus lacus est; in eo lacu alia insula est et ea quoque inhabitatur. ἐνθὲνδ' εἰκόνα ποιοῦμεν. Vale, dulcissima anima. Domina mea te salutat.

ad M. Caesarem 3.8

[40 VdH; 1.34 Haines]

Domino meo.

Imaginem, quam te quaerere ais meque tibi socium ad quaerendum et optionem sumis, num moleste feres, si in tuo atque in tui patris sinu id futurum quaeram? Ut illa in mari Ionio sive Tyrrenico sive vero potius in Hadriatico mari, seu quod aliud est mare, ejus nomen maris addito, igitur ut illa in mari insula Aenaria fluctus maritimos ipsa accipit atque propulsat omnemque vim classium, praedonum, beluarum, procellarum ipsa perpetitur, intus autem in lacu aliam insulam protegit ab omnibus periculis ac

difficultatibus tutam, omnium vero deliciarum voluptatumque participem, namque illa intus in lacu insula aequè undis alluitur auras salubris aequè accipit, habitatur aequè, mare aequè prospectat, item pater tuus imperii Romani molestias ac difficultates ipse perpetitur, te tutum intus in tranquillo sinu suo socium dignitatis gloriae honorumque omnium participem tutatur. Igitur hac imagine multimodis uti potes ubi patri tuo gratias ages, in qua oratione locupletissimum et copiosissimum te esse oportet. Nihil est enim, quod tu aut honestius aut verius aut libentius in omni vita tua dicas quam, quod ad ornandas patris tui laudes pertinebit. Postea ego quamcumque εἰκόνα huc addidero, non aequè placebit tibi, ut haec quae ad patrem tuum pertinet; tam hoc scio, quam tu novisti.

Quamobrem ipse aliam εἰκόνα nullam adiciam, sed ratione, qua tute quaeras, ostendam. Et amem te, tu quas εἰκόνας in eandem rem demonstrata ratione quaesiveris et inveneris mittito mihi, ut si fuerint scitae atque concinnae, gaudeam. Jam primum quidem illud scis, εἰκόνα ei rei adsumi, ut aut ornet quid aut deturpet aut aequiperet aut deminuat aut ampliet aut ex minus credibili credibile efficiat. Ubi nihil eorum usus erit, locus εἰκόνης non erit. Postea ubi rei propositae imaginem scribes, ut si pingeres, insignia animadverteres ejus rei cujus imaginem pingeres, item in scribendo facies. Insignia autem cujusque rei multis modis eliges: τὰ ὁμογενῆ, τὰ ὁμοειδῆ, τὰ ὅλα, τὰ μέρη, τὰ ἴδια, τὰ διάφορα, τὰ ἀντικείμενα, τὰ ἐπόμενα καὶ παρακολουθοῦντα, τὰ ὀνόματα, τὰ ἐνούσια, τὰ συμβεβηκότα, τὰ στοιχεῖα et fere omnia ex quibus argumenta sumuntur; de quibus plerumque audisti, cum Θεωδώρου locos ἐπιχειρημάτων tractaremus. Eorum si quid memoriae tuae elapsum est, non inutile erit eadem nos denuo retractare, ubi tempus aderit. In hac εἰκόνε, quam de patre tuo teque depinxī, ἐν τῷ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἔλαβον, τὸ ὅμοιον τῆς ἀσφαλείας καὶ τῆς ἀπολαύσεως. Nunc tu per hasce vias ac semitas, quas supra ostendi, quaeres, quonam modo Aenariam commodissime pervenias.

Mihi dolor cubiti haud multum sedatus est. Vale, domine, cum ingenio eximio. Dominae meae matri tuae dic salutem. τὴν δὲ ὅλην τῶν εἰκόνων τέχνην alias diligentius et subtilius persequemur; nunc capita rerum attigi.

ad M. Caesarem 3.9

Have, mi magister optime.

Si quid somni redit post vigilas, de quibus questus es, oro te, scribe mihi. Et illud oro te: Primum valetudine operam da, tum securim Tenediam, quam minaris, abde aliquo ac reconde nec tu consilium causarum agendarum dimiseris, aut tum simul omnia ora taceant.

Graece nescio quid ais te conpegisse, quod ut aequae pauca a te scripta placeat tibi. Tunc es, qui me nuper concastigabas, quorsum Graece scriberem? Mihi vero nunc potissimum Graece scribendum est. "Quamobrem?" rogas. Volo periculum facere, an id, quod non didici, facilius obsecundet mihi, quoniam quidem illud, quod didici, deserit. Sed si me amares, misisses mihi istud novicium, quod placere ais. Ego vero te vel invitum istic lego; et quidem hac re una vivo et resto.

Materiam cruentam misisti mihi. Necdum legi Coelianum excerptum, quod misisti, nec legam, priusquam sensus ipse venatus fuero. Sed me Caesaris oratio unceis unguibus adtinet. Nunc denique sentio, quantum operis sit ternos vel quinos versus in die etornare et aliquid diu scribere.

Vale, spiritus meus. Ego non ardeam tuo amore, qui mihi hoc scripseris? Quid faciam? Non possum insistere. At mihi anno priore datum fuit hoc eodem loco eodemque tempore matris desiderio peruri. Id desiderium hoc anno tu mihi accendis. Salutat te domina mea.

ad M. Caesarem 3.10

[43 VdH; 1.50 Haines]

Have, mi magister optime.

Scio die quoque pro eo, quoque is dies natalis est, amicos vota suscipere; ego tamen, quia te iuxta ut memet ipsum amo, volo hac die, tuo natali, mihi bene precari. Deos igitur omnis, qui usquam gentium vim suam praesentem promptamque hominibus praebent, qui vel somniis vel mysteriis vel medicina vel oraculis usquam juvant atque pollent, eorum deorum unumquemque mihi votis advoco meque pro genere cujusque voti in eo loco constituo, de quo deus ei rei praeditus facilius exaudiat. Igitur jam primum Pergamei arcem ascendo et Aesculapio supplico, uti valetudinem magistri mei bene temperet vehementerque tueatur. Inde Athenas degredior, Minervam genibus nixus obsecro atque oro, si quid ego umquam litterarum sciam, ut id potissimum ex Frontonis ore in pectus meum commigret. Nunc redeo Romam deosque viales

et promarinos votis inploro, uti mihi omne iter tua praesentia comitatum sit, neque ego tam saepe tam saevo desiderio fatiger. Postremo omnis omnium populorum praesides deos atque ipsum Jovem, qui Capitolium montem strepit, quaeso tribuat hoc nobis, ut istum diem, quo mihi natus es, tecum firmo te laetoque concelebrem.

Vale, mi dulcissime et carissime magister. Rogo, corpus cura, ut, quom venero, videam te. Domina mea te salutat.

ad M. Caesarem 3.11

[43 VdH; 1.52 Haines]

Domino meo.

Omnia nobis prospera sunt, quom tu pro nobis optas; neque enim quisquam dignior alius te, qui a dis, quae petit, inpetret; nisi quod ego cum pro te precor, nemo alius te dignior est, pro quo impetretur. Vale, domine dulcissime. Dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 3.12

[44 VdH; 1.12 Haines]

Domino meo.

Cratia ad me heri nocte venit. Sed pro Cratia mihi fuit, quod tu gnomas egregie convertisti, hanc quidem, quam hodie accepi, prope perfecte, ut poni in libro Sallustii possit nec discrepet aut quicquam decedat. Ego beatus, hilaris, sanus, juvenis denique fio, quom tu ita proficis. Est grave, quod postulabo, sed quod ipse mihi et profuisse memini, non potest, quin a te quoque postulem. Bis et ter eandem convertito, ita ut fecisti in illa gnome brevicula. Igitur longiores quoque bis ac ter converte naviter, audacter. Quodcumque ausus fueris, cum isto ingenio perficies; at enim cum labore: Laboriosum quidem negotium concupisti, sed pulcrum et novum et paucis inpetratum de in me recipis . . icula donec perfecte absolveris. Plurimum tibi in oratione facienda prodest tum certe quidem cottidie *excerpere aut ex Jugurtha aut ex Catilina*. Diis propitiis, quom Romam reverteris, exigam a te *denuo versus* diurnos. Dominam matrem saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 3.13

[44 VdH; 1.14 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Duas per id tempus epistulas tuas accepi. Earum altera me increpabas et temere sententiam scripsisse arguebas, altera vero tuere studium meum laude nitebaris. Adjuro tamen tibi meam, meae matris, tuam salutem mihi plus gaudii in animo coortum esse illis tuis prioribus litteris meque saepius exclamasse inter legendum: “O me felicem!” “Itane”, dicet aliquis, “felicem te ais, si est, qui te doceat, quomodo γνώμην sollertius, dilucidius, brevius, politius scribas?” Non hoc est, quod me felicem nuncupo. Quid est igitur? Quod verum dicere ex te disco. Ea res, verum dicere, prorsum diis hominibusque ardua: Nullum denique tam veriloquium oraculum est, quin aliquid ancipitis in se vel obliqui vel inpediti habeat, quo imprudentior inretiatur et ad voluntatem suam dictum opinatus captionem post tempus ac negotium sentiat. Sed ista res lucrosa est, et *plane* mos talia tantum pio errore et vanitate *excusare*. At tuae seu accusationes seu lora confestim ipsam viam ostendunt sine fraude et inventis verbis. Itaque haberem etiam gratias agere vel, si verum me dicere satius simul et audire verum me doces. Duplex igitur pretium solvatur, pendere quod ne valeam, *elaborabis*. Sei resolvi vis nil, quomodo tibi par pari expendam nisi obsequio? Inpius tamen mihi malui te nimia motum cura

E minitando postquam nam et acuit me et scribendo ac legendo ad ea et excerpendo . . . i tota e . . . on . . . lego insecatas paulatim . . nmi . . etsi est enim qui laborem hic facilluma gloria pericli

Vale, mi ne im et optime, magister optime, gratissime . . . , quantum te invenisse gaudeo. Domina mea te salutat.

ad M. Caesarem 3.14

[45 VdH; 1.218 Haines]

Domino meo.

Quod poetis concessum est ὀνοματοποιεῖν, verba nova fingere, quo facilius, quod sentiunt, expriment, id mihi necessarium est ad gaudium meum expromendum. Nam solitis et usitatis verbis non sum contentus, sed laetius gaudeo quam, ut sermone volgato significare laetitiam animi mei possim: Tot mihi a te in tam paucis diebus epistulas scriptas easque tam eleganter, tam amice, tam blande, tam effuse, tam fraglanter compositas, cum jam tot negotiis

quot officiis, quot rescribendis per provincias litteris distringerere. Atenim proposueram (nihil enim mihi a te occultum aut dissimulatum retinere fas est) ita, inquam, proposueram vel desidia culpam a te subire rarius scribendo tibi potius, quam te multis rebus occupatum epistulis meis onorarem et ad rescribendum provocarem, quom tu cotidie ultro scripsisti mihi. Sed quid dico ‘cotidie’? Ergo jam hic mihi ὀνοματοποιίας opus est. Nam ‘cotidie’ foret, si singulas epistulas per dies singulos scripsisses; quom vero plures epistulae, quam sint dies, verbum istud ‘cottidie’ minus significat. Nec est, domine, quod mihi tristior sis, cur omnino veritus sim, ne tibi litterae meae crebriores oneris essent: Nam quo mei amantior es, tanto me laborum tuorum parciorem et occupationum tuarum modestiorem esse oportet. Quid est mihi osculo tuo suavius! Ille mihi suavis odor, ille fructus in tuo collo atque osculo situs est. Attamen proxime cum proficiscere, cum jam pater tuus vehiculum conscendisset, te salutantium et exosculantium turba diutius moraretur, profuit, ut te solus ex omnibus non complecterer nec exoscularer. Item in ceteris aliis rebus omnibus numquam equidem mea commoda tuis utilitatibus anteponam; quin si opus sit, meo gravissimo labore atque negotio tuum levissimum et otium redimam. Igitur cogitans, quantum ex epistulis scribendis laboris caperes, proposueram parcius te appellare, quom tu cotidie scripsisti mihi. Quas ego epistulas quom acciperem, simile patiebar, quod amator patitur, qui delicias suas videat currere ad se per iter asperum et periculosum. Namque is simul advenientem gaudet, simul periculum reveretur. Unde displicet mihi fabula histrionibus celebrata, ubi amans amantem puella juvenem nocte lumine accenso stans in turri natantem in mare opperitur. Nam ego potius te caruero, tametsi amore tuo ardeo, potius quam “te ad hoc noctis natare tantum profundi patiar, ne luna occidat, ne ventus lucernam interemat, ne quid ibi ex frigore impliciscare, ne fluctus, ne vadus, ne piscis aliquo noxsit”. Haec ratio amantibus decuit et melior et salubrior fuit: Non alieno capitali periculo sectari voluptatis usuram brevem ac paenitentiam.

Nunc ut a fabula ad verum convertar, id ego non mediocriter anxius eram, ne necessariis laboribus tuis ego insuper aliquod molestiae atque oneris inponerem, si praeter eas epistulas, quas ad plurimos necessario munere cotidie rescribis, ego quoque ad rescribendum fatigarem. Nam me carere omni fructu amoris tui malim quam te ne minimum quidem incommodi voluptatis meae gratiae subire.

[47 VdH; 1.100 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Epistula Ciceronis mirifice adfecit animum meum. Miserat Brutus Ciceroni librum suum *corrigendum* <...>

[duae paginae desunt]

[47 VdH; 1.100 Haines]

Domino meo.

<...> molliantur atque ita efficacius sine ulla ad animos offensione audientium penetrent. Haec sunt profecto, quae tu putas obliqua et insincera et anxia et verae amicitiae minime adcommodata. At ego sine istis artibus omnem orationem absurdam et agrestem et incognitam, denique inertem atque inutilem puto. Neque magis oratoribus arbitror necessaria ejusmodi artificia quam philosophis. In ea re non oratorum domesticis, quod dicitur, testimoniis utar, sed philosophorum eminentissimis, poetarum vetustissimis excellentissimisque, vitae denique cotidianae usu atque cultu artiumque omnium experimentis. Quidnam igitur tibi videtur princeps ille sapientiae simul atque eloquentiae Socrates? Huic enim primo ac potissimo testimonium apud te denuntiavi: Eone usus genere dicendi, in quo nihil est oblicum, nihil interdum dissimulatum? Quibus ille modis Protagoram et Polum et Thrasymachum et sophistas ceteros versare atque inretire solitus? Quando autem aperta arte congressus est? Quando non ex insidiis adortus? Quo ex homine nata inversa oratio videtur, quam Graece εἰρωνείαν appellant. Alcibiaden vero ceterosque adolescentis genere aut fama aut opibus feroces quo pacto appellare atque adfari solebat? Per jurgium an per πολιτείαν, exprobrando acriter, quae delinquerent, an leniter arguendo? Neque deerat Socrati profecto gravitas aut vis, qua tum cynicus Diogenes volgo saeviabatur; sed vidit profecto ingenia partim hominum ac praecipue adolescentium facilius comi atque adfabili oratione leniri quam acri violentaque superari. Itaque non vineis neque arietibus errores adolescentium expugnabat, sed cuniculis subruebat, neque umquam ab eo auditores discessere lacerati sed nonnumquam laccessiti. Est enim genus hominum natura insectantibus indomitum, blandientibus conciliatum. Quamobrem facilius precariis

decedimus, quam violentis deterremur, plusque ad corrigendum promovent consilia quam iurgia. Ita comitati monentium obsequimur, inclementiae objurgantium obnitimur.

ad M. Caesarem 3.17

[49 VdH; 1.104 Haines]

Domino meo.

Quod tu me putes somnum cepisse, totam paene noctem pervigilavi mecum ipse reputans, num forte nimio amore tui remissius et clementius delictum aliquod tuum aestumarem; num tu ordinatior, perfectior jam in eloquentia esse debueris, sed ingenium tuum vel desidia vel indiligentia claudat. Haec mecum anxie volutans inveniebam te multum supra aetatem, qua tu es, multa supra tempus, quo operam his studiis dedisti, multum etiam supra opinionem meam, quamquam ego de te sperem inmodica, in eloquentia promovisse. Sed quo? Mihi tum demum venit nocte media in mentem, qualem ὑπόθεσιν scribas, nimirum ἐπιδεικτικήν, qua nihil est difficilius. Cur? Quia, cum sint tria ferme genera ὑποθέσεων: ἐπιδεικτικῶν, συμβουλευτικῶν, δικανικῶν, cetera illa multo sunt proniora, multifariam procliva vel campestria, τὸ ἐπιδεικτικὸν in arduo situm. Denique, cum aequae tres quasi formulae sint orationis, ἰσχνόν, μέσον, ἄδρὸν, prope nullus in epideicticis τῷ ἰσχνῷ locus, qui est in dicis multum necessarius. Omnia ἐν τῷ ἐπιδεικτικῷ ἄδρῳς dicenda, ubique ornandum, ubique phaleris utendum, pauca τῷ μέσῳ χαρακτηρί. Meministi autem tu plurimas lectiones, quibus usque adhuc versatus es, comoedias, Atellanas, oratores veteres, quorum aut pauci aut praeter Catone et Gracchum nemo tubam inflat; omnes autem mugiunt vel stridunt potius. Quid igitur Ennius egit, quem legisti? Quid tragoediae ad versum sublimiter faciendum te juverunt? Plerumque enim ad orationem faciendam versus, ad versificandum oratio magis adjuvat. Nunc nuper coepisti legere ornatas et pompaticas orationes: Noli postulare statim eas imitari posse. Verum, ut dixi, incumbamus, conitamur. Me vade, me praede, me sponsore celeriter te in cacumine eloquentiae sistam; dii facient, dii favebunt.

Vale, domine, καὶ ἔλπιζε καὶ εὐθύμει καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ πείθου. Matrem dominam saluta. Quom Persarum disciplinam memorares, bene ‘battunt’ aisti.

ad M. Caesarem 3.18

Have, mi Fronto merito carissime.

Intellego istam tuam argutissimam strofam, quam tu quidem benignissime repperisti: Ut quia laudando me fidem propter egregium erga me amorem tuum non habebas, vituperando laudi fidem quaereres. Sed o me beatum, qui a Marco Cornelio meo, oratore maximo, homine optimo, et laudari et reprehendi dignus esse videor! Quid ego de tuis litteris dicam benignissimis, verissimis, amicissimis? Verissimis tamen usque ad primam partem libelli tui; nam cetera, ubi me conprobas, ut ait nescio quis Graecus (puto Thucydides), τυφλοῦται γὰρ τὸ φιλοῦν περὶ τὸ φιλούμενον, item tu partim meorum prope caeco amore interpretatus es. Sed (tanti est me non recte scribere et te nullo meo merito, sed solo tuo erga me amore laudare, de quo tu plurima et elegantissima ad me proxime scripsisti) ego, si tu volueris, ero aliquid. Ceterum litterae tuae id effecerunt, ut, quam vehementer me amares, sentirem. Sed quod ad ἀθυρίαν meam attinet, nihilominus adhuc animus meus pavet et tristiculus est, ne quid hodie in senatu dixerim, propter quod te magistrum habere non merear.

Vale, mihi, Fronto – quid dicam nisi: amice optime.

ad M. Caesarem 3.19

Magistro suo Caesar suus.

In quantum me juverit lectio orationum istarum Gracchi, non opus est me dicere, quom tu scias optime, qui me, ut eas legerem, doctissimo iudicio ac benignissimo animo tuo hortatus es. Ne autem sine comite solus ad te liber tuus referretur, libellum istum addidi.

Vale, mi magister suavissime, amice amicissime, quoi sum debiturus, quidquid litterarum sciero. Non sum tam ingratus, ut non intellegam, quid mihi praestiteris, quom excerpta tua mihi ostendisti, et quom cotidie non desinis in viam me veram inducere et oculos aperire, ut volgo dicitur. Merito amo.

ad M. Caesarem 3.20

Magistro meo.

Qualem mihi animum esse existimas, quom cogito, quam diu te non vidi, et

quamobrem non vidi? Et fortassis pauculis te adhuc diebus, cum te necessario confirmas, non videbo. Igitur dum tu jacebis, et mihi animus supinus erit, quomque tu dis juvantibus bene stabis, et meus animus bene constabit, qui nunc torretur ardentissimo desiderio tuo.

Vale, anima Caesaris tui, amici tui, discipuli tui.

ad M. Caesarem 3.21

[51 VdH; 1.172 Haines]

Domino meo.

Lectulo me teneo. Si possim, ubi ad Centum Cellas ibitis, itineri idoneus esse, VII Idus vos Lorii videbo deis faventibus. Excusa me domino nostro patri tuo, quem (ita vos salvos habeam!) magno pondere gravius amo et colo, quom tam bene in senatu judicatum est, quod et provinciis saluti esset et reos clementer oburgasset.

Ubi vivarium dedicabitis, memento quam diligentissime, si feras percuties, et equom admittere. Galbam certe ad Centum Cellas produces. An potes octav(um) Idus Lorii? Vale, domine, patri placeto, matri dic salutem, me desiderato.

Cato quid dicat de Galba absoluto, tu melius scis; ego memini propter fratris filios eum absolutum. Τὸ δὲ ἀκριβὲς ipse inspice. Cato igitur dissuadet, neve suos neve alienos quis liberos ad misericordiam conciliandam producat neve uxores neve adfines vel ullas omnino feminas.

Domine, matrem saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 3.22

[52 VdH; 1.172 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Mane ad te non scripsi, quia te commodiorem esse audieram, et quia ipse in alio negotio occupatus fueram; nec sustineo ad te umquam quicquam scribere nisi remisso et soluto et libero animo. Igitur, si recte sumus, fac me, ut sciam. Quid enim optem, scis; quam merito optem, scio. Vale, meus magister, qui merito apud animum meum omnis omni re praevenis. Mi magister, ecce non dormito et cogo me, ut dormiam, ne tu irascaris. Aestimas utique me vespera haec scribere.

LIBER IV

ad M. Caesarem 4.1

[53 VdH; 1.70 Haines]

Domino meo Fronto.

Quoniam scio quanto opere sis anxius <...>

[duae paginae desunt]

<...> et columbae cum lupis et aquilis cantantem sequebantur inmemores insidiarum et unguium et dentium. Quae fabula recte interpretantibus illud profecto significat fuisse egregio ingenio eximiaque eloquentia virum, qui plurimos virtutum suarum facundiaeque admiratione devinxerit; eumque amicos ac sectatores suos ita instituisse, ut, quamquam diversis nationibus convenae variis moribus inbuti, concordarent tamen et consuescerent et congregarentur, mites cum ferocibus, placidi cum violentis, quom superbis moderati, cum crudelibus timidi: Omnes dein paulatim vitia insita exuerent, virtutem sectarentur, probitatem condiscerent, pudore inpuidentiam, obsequio contumaciam, benignitate malivolentiam commutarent. Quo si quis umquam ingenio tantum valuit, ut amicos ac sectatores suos amore inter se mutuo copularet, tu hoc profecto perficies multo facilius, qui ad omnis virtutes natus es prius quam institutus. Nam priusquam tibi aetas institutioni sufficiens adolesceret, jam tu perfectus atque omnibus bonis artibus absolutus: Ante pubertatem vir bonus, ante togam virilem dicendi peritus. Verum ex omnibus virtutibus tuis hoc vel praecipue admirandum, quod omnis amicos tuos concordia copulas. Nec tamen dissimulaverim multo hoc esse difficilius quam, ut ferae ac leones cithara mitigentur. Quod tu facilius obtinebis, si unum illud vitium funditus extirpandum eruendumque curaveris, ne liveant neve invideant invicem amici tui, neve, quod tu alii tribueris ac benefeceris, sibi quisque illud deperire ac detrahi putet. Invidia perniciosum inter homines malum maximeque internecivum, sibi aliisque pariter obnoxium. Sed si procul a cohorte tua prohibueris, uteris amicis concordibus et benignis, ut nunc uteris. Sin aliqua pervaserit, magna molestia magnoque labore erit restinguendum.

Sed meliora, quaeso, fabulemur. Amo Julianum (inde enim hic sermo defluxit), amo omnis, qui te diligunt, amo deos, qui te tutantur, amo vitam propter te, amo litteras tecum: *In*primis eis mihi amorem tui ingurgito.

[54 VdH; 1.74 Haines]

Carissime.

Quamquam ad te cras venio, tamen tam amicis tamque jucundis litteris tuis, tam denique elegantibus nihil, ne hoc quidem tantulum, rescribere non sustineo, mi Fronto carissime. Sed quid ego prius amem? Pro quo prius habeam gratiam? Idne primum commemorem, quod in tantis domesticis studiis tantisque extrariis negotiis occulatus tamen ad Julianum nostrum visendum mea maxime gratia (nam sim ingratus nisi id intellegam) ire conisus es? Sed non magnum est tamen, ut est, si cetera addas: Tanto temporis spatio ibi te demorari, tantum sermocinari, idque ad me sermocinari aut, quod ad valetudinem ejus consolandam esset, aegrum commodiorem sibi, amicum amiciorem mihi facere; tum autem de iis singillatim ad me perscribere; inibi scribere nuntium de ipso Juliano optatissimum, verba suavissima, consilia saluberrima. Quid illud, quod dissimulare nullo modo possum, apud alium dissimulaturus? Utique illud ipsum, quod tanta ad me scripsisti, cum cras venturus essem, id vero mihi longe fuit gratissimum; in eo ego me beatissimum supra omnis homines arbitratus sum; nam quanti me faceres, quantamque amicitiae meae haberes fiduciam, in eo maxime atque dulcissime ostendisti. Quid ego addam, nisi te merito amo? Sed quid dico ‘merito’? Nam utinam pro tuo merito te amare possem! Atque id est, quod saepe absenti atque insonti tibi irascor atque suscenseo, quod facis, ne te, ut volo, amare possim, id est, ne meus animus amorem tuum usque ad summum columnen ejus persequi posset.

De Herode quod dicis, perge, oro te, ut Quintus noster ait: “Pervince pertinaci pervicacia”. Et Herodes te amat, et ego istic huc ago, et qui te non amat, profecto neque ille animo intellegit neque oculis videt; nam de auribus nihil dico, nam omnibus aures tuae voculae subserviunt sub jugum subactae.

Mihi et hodiernus dies verno die longior et nox veniens hiberna nocte prolixior videtur atque videbitur. Nam cum maximo opere Frontonem meum consalutare tum harum recentium litterarum scriptorem praecipue cupio conplecti. Haec cursim ad te scripsi, quia Maecianus urgebat, et fratrem tuum maturius ad te reverti aecum erat. Quaeso igitur, si quod verbum absurdius aut inconsultior sensus aut infirmior littera istic erit, id tempori adponas. Nam cum te ut amicum vehementissime diligam, tum meminisse oportet, quantum

amorem amico, tantum reverentiae magistro praestare debere. Vale, mi Fronto carissime et supra omnis res dulcissime.

Sota Ennianus remissus a te et in charta puriore et volumine gratiores litterae festiviores, quam antea fuerat, videtur. Gracchus cum cado musti maneat, dum venimus, neque enim metus est Gracchum interea cum musto deferere posse. Valeas semper, anima suavissima.

ad M. Caesarem 4.3

[56 VdH; 1.1 Haines]

Domino meo Fronto.

Omnium artium, ut ego arbitror, imperitum et indoctum omnino esse praestat quam semiperitum ac semidoctum. Nam qui sibi conscius est artis expertem esse, minus adtemptat eoque minus praecipitat: Diffidentia profecto audaciam prohibet. At ubi quis leviter quid cognitum pro conperto ostendat, falsa fiducia multifariam labitur. Philosophiae quoque disciplinas ajunt satius esse numquam attigisse quam leviter et primoribus, ut dicitur, labiis delibasse, eosque provenire malitiosissimos, qui in vestibulo artis obversati prius inde averterint, quam penetraverint. Tamen est in aliis artibus, ubi interdum delitescas et peritus paulisper habere, quod nescias. In verbis vero eligendis conlocandisque ilico dilucet nec verba dare diutius potest, quin se ipse indicet verborum ignarum esse eaque male probare et temere existimare et inscie contrectare neque modum neque pondus verbi internosse. Quamobrem rari admodum veterum scriptorum in eum laborem studiumque et periculum verba industrius quaerendi sese commiserunt, oratorum post homines natos unus omnium M. Porcius ejusque frequens sectator C. Sallustius, poetarum maxime Plautus, multo maxime Q. Ennius eumque studiose aemulatus L. Coelius necnon Naevius, Lucretius, Accius etiam, Caecilius, Laberius quoque. Nam praeter hos partim scriptorum animadvertas particulatim elegantis Novium et Pomponium et id genus in verbis rusticis et jocularibus ac ridiculariis, Attam in muliebribus, Sisennam in lasciviis, Lucilium in cujusque artis ac negotii propriis.

Hic tu fortasse jandudum requiras, quo in numero locum M. Tullium, qui caput atque fons Romanae facundiae cluet. Eum ego arbitror usquequaque verbis pulcherrimis elocutum et ante omnes alios oratores ad ea, quae ostentare vellet, ornanda magnificum fuisse. Verum is mihi videtur a

quaerendis scrupulosius verbis procul afuisse vel magnitudine animi vel fuga laboris vel fiducia non quaerenti etiam sibi, quae vix aliis quaerentibus subvenirent, praesti adfutura. Itaque conperisse videor, ut qui ejus scripta omnia studiosissime lectitarim, cetera eum genera verborum copiosissime uberrimeque tractasse: Verba propria, translata, simplicia, composita et, quae in ejus scriptis ubique dilucet, verba honesta, saepenumero etiam amoena, quom tamen in omnibus ejus orationibus paucissima admodum reperias insperata atque inopinata verba, quae nonnisi cum studio atque cura atque vigilantia atque multa veterum carminum memoria indagantur. Insperatum autem atque inopinatum verbum appello, quod praeter spem atque opinionem audientium aut legentium promitur, ita ut, si subtrahas atque eum, qui legat, quaerere ipsum jubeas aut nullum aut non ita significando adcommodatum verbum aliud reperiatur. Quamobrem te magno opere conlaudo, quod ei rei curam industriamque adhibes, ut verbum ex alto eruas et ad significandum adcommodes. Verum, ut initio dixi, magnum in ea re periculum est, ne minus apte aut parum dilucide aut non satis decore, ut a semidocto, conlocetur: Namque multo satius est vulgaribus et usitatis quam remotis et requisitis uti, si parum significet.

Haud sciam, an utile sit demonstrare, quanta difficultas, quam scrupulosa et anxiosa cura in verbis probandis adhibenda sit, ne ea res animos adolescentium retardet aut spem adipiscendi debilitet. Una plerumque littera translata aut exempta aut inmutata vim verbi ac venustatem commutat et elegantiam vel scientiam loquentis declarat. Equidem te animadverti, quom mihi scripta tua relegeres, atque ego de verbo syllabam permutarem, te id neglegere nec multum referre arbitrari. Nolim igitur te ignorare syllabae unius discrimen quantum referat. Os ‘colluere’ dicam, pavimentum autem in balneis ‘pelluere’, non ‘colluere’; lacrimis vero genas ‘lavere’ dicam, non ‘pelluere’ neque ‘colluere’; vestimenta autem ‘lavare’, non ‘lavere’; sudorem porro et pulverem ‘abluere’, non ‘lavare’; sed maculam elegantius ‘eluere’ quam ‘abluere’. Si quid vero magis haeserit nec sine aliquo detrimento exigi possit, Plautino verbo ‘elavere’ dicam. Tum praeterea mulsum ‘diluere’, fauces ‘proluere’, ungulam jumento ‘subluere’. Tot exemplis unum atque idem verbum syllabae atque litterae commutatione in varium modum ac sensum usurpatur: Tam hercule quam faciem medicamento ‘litam’, caeno corpus ‘oblitum’, calicem melle ‘delitum’, mucronem veneno ‘*praelitum*’, radium

visco ‘inlitum’ rectius dixerim.

Haud sciam, an quis roget: Nam quis me prohibet vestimenta lavere potius quam lavare, sudorem lavare potius quam abluere dicere? Tibi vero nemo in ea re intercedere aut modificare*i* jure ullo poterit, qui sis liberis prognatus et equitum censum praetervehare et in senatu sententiam rogere; nos vero, qui doctorum auribus servituti serviendae nosmet dedimus, necesse est tenuia quoque ista et minuta summa cum cura persequamur. Verba prosus alii vecte et malleo ut silices moliuntur, alii autem caelo et marculo ut gemmulas exculpunt; te aequius erit ad quaerenda sollertius verba, quod correctus sis, meminisse quam, quod deprehensus, detractare aut retardari. Nam si quaerendo desistes, numquam reperiēs; si perges quaerere, reperiēs.

Denique visus etiam es mihi insuper habuisse, cum ordinem verbi tui immutassem, uti ante ‘tricipitem’ diceres, quam ‘Geryonam’ nominares. Id quoque ne ignores: Pleraque in oratione ordine inmutato vel rata verba fiunt vel supervacanea. ‘Navem triremem’ rite dixerim, ‘triremem navem’ supervacaneo addiderim. Neque enim periculum est, ne quis lexiculam aut redam aut citharam triremem dici arbitretur. Tum praeterea quom commemorares, cur Parthi manuleis laxioribus uterentur, ita, opinor, scripsisti, “intervallis vestis aestum” ut “suspendi” diceres. Ain tandem: Quo pacto aestus suspenditur? Neque id reprehendo te verbi translatione audacius progressum, quippe qui Enni sententia oratorem audacem esse debere censeam. Sit sane audax orator, ut Ennius postulat; sed a significando, quod volt eloqui, nusquam digrediat. Igitur voluntatem quidem tuam magno opere probavi laudavique, quom verbum quaerere adgressus es; indiligentiam autem quaesiti verbi, quod esset absurda, reprehendi. Namque manuleorum intervallis, quae interdum laxata videmus atque fluitantia, ‘suspendi’ aestus non potest: Potest aestus per vestis intervalla ‘depelli’, potest ‘degi’, potest ‘demeare’, potest ‘circumduci’, potest ‘inverti’, potest ‘eventilari’, omnia denique potius potest quam posse ‘suspendi’, quod verbum ‘superne quid sustineri’, non ‘per laxamenta deduci’ significat.

Post ista monui, quibus studiis, quoniam ita velles, te historiae scribundae praeparares. Qua de re cum longior sit oratio, ne modum epistulae egrediar, finem facio. Si tu de ea quoque re scribi ad te voles, etiam atque etiam admonebis.

M. Caesar M. Frontoni magistro suo salutem.

Postquam vehiculum incendi, postquam te salutavi, iter non adeo incommodum nos fecimus sed paululum pluvia aspersi sumus. Sed priusquam ad villam venimus, Anagniam devertimus mille fere passus a via. Deinde id oppidum anticum vidimus, minutulum quidem, sed multas res in se antiquas habet, aedes sanctasque caerimonias supra modum. Nullus angulus fuit, ubi delubrum aut fanum aut templum non sit. Praeterea multi libri lintei, quod ad sacra adtinet. Deinde in porta, cum eximus, ibi scriptum erat bifariam sic: "Flamen sume samentum". Rogavi aliquem ex popularibus, quid illud verbum esset. Ait lingua Hernica pelliculam de hostia, quam in apicem suum flamen, cum in urbem introeat, inponit. Multa adeo alia didicimus, quae vellemus scire; verum id solum est, quod nolimus, cum tu a nobis abes: Ea nobis maxima sollicitudo est.

Nunc tu postquam inde profectus es, utrumne in Aureliam an in Campaniam abisti? Fac scribas mihi, et an vindemias inchoaveris, et an ad villam multitudinem librorum tuleris, et illud quoque an me desideres, quod ego stulte requiro, quom tu certe facis. Nunc tu si me desideres atque si me ames, litteras tuas ad me frequentes mittes, quod mihi solacium atque fomentum sit. Nam decem partibus tuas litteras legere malim quam omnes Massicos aut Gauranos palmites; nam Signini quidem isti nimis rancidos racemos et acidos acinos habent, quod vinum malim quam mustum bibere. Praeterea istas uvas multo commodius passas quam puberes manducare; nam profecto malim eas pedibus calcare quam dentibus comesse. Sed tamen propitiae placataequa sint et mihi pro istic jocularibus bonam veniam duint. Vale, mihi homo amicissime, suavissime, disertissime, magister dulcissime. Quom videbis in dolio mustum fervere, in mentem tibi veniat mihi sic in pectore tuum desiderium scatere et abundare et spumas facere. Semper vale.

ad M. Caesarem 4.5

Have, mihi magister carissime.

Nos valemus. Ego hodie ab hora nona noctis in secundam diei bene disposito cibo studivi; a secunda in tertiam soleatus libentissime inambulavi ante cubiculum meum. Deinde calceatus sagulo sumpto (nam ita adesse nobis indictum erat) abii salutatum dominum meum. Ad venationem profecti

sumus, fortia facinora fecimus, apros captos esse fando audimus, nam videndi quid nulla facultas fuit. Clivom tamen satis arduum successimus; inde post meridiem domum recepimus. Ego me ad libellos. Igitur calceis detractis, vestimentis positus in lectulo ad duas horas commoratus sum. Legi Catonis orationem de bonis Pulchrae et aliam, qua tribuno diem dixit, “Io”, inquis puero tuo, “vade, quantum potes, de Apollonis bibliotheca has mihi orationes adporta.” Frustra: Nam duo isti libri me secuti sunt. Igitur Tiberianus bibliothecarius tibi subigitandus est; aliquid in eam rem insumendum quod mihi ille, ut ad urbem venero, aequa divisione inpertiat. Sed ego orationibus his perlectis paululum misere scripsi, quod aut Lymphis aut Volcano dicarem: ἀληθῶς ἀτυχῶς σήμερον γέγραπταί μοι, venatoris plane aut vindemiatoris studiolum qui jubilis suis cubiculum meum perstrepunt, causidicali prosum odio et taedio. Quid hoc dixi? Immo recte dixi, nam meus quidem magister orator est.

Ego videor mihi perfrixisse; quod mane soleatus ambulavi, an quod male scripsi, non scio. Certe homo alioqui pituitosus, hodie tamen multo muculentior mihi esse videor. Itaque oleum in caput infundam et incipiam dormire, nam in lucernam hodie nullam stillam inicere cogito, ita me equitatio et sternutatio defetigavit.

Valebis, mihi magister carissime et dulcissime, quem ego, ausim dicere, magis quam ipsam Romam desidero.

ad M. Caesarem 4.6

[62 VdH; 1.180 Haines]

Have, mihi magister dulcissime.

Nos valemus. Ego aliquantum prodormivi propter perfrictiunculam, quae videtur sedata esse. Ergo ab undecima noctis in tertiam diei partim legi ex agri cultura Catonis, partim scripsi, minus misere, mercule, quam heri. Inde salutato patre meo aqua mulsa sorbenda usque ad gulam et rejectanda ‘fauces fovi’ potius quam dicerem ‘gargarissavi’, nam est ad Novium, credo, et alibi. Sed faucibus curatis abii ad patrem meum et immolanti adstiti. Deinde ad merendam itum. Quid me censes prandisse? Panis tantulum, cum conchimis et caepas et maenas bene praegnatis alios vorantis viderem. Deinde uvis metendis operam dedimus et consudavimus et jubilavimus et “aliquos”, ut ait auctor, “reliquimus altipendulos vindemiae superstites”. Ab hora sexta

domum redimus. Paululum studui atque id ineptum. Deinde cum matercula mea supra torum sedente multum garrivi. Meus sermo hic erat: “Quid existimas modo meum Frontonem facere?” Tum illa: “Quid autem tu meam Cratiam?” Tum ego: “Quid autem passerculam nostram Cratiam minusculam?” Dum ea fabulamur atque altercamur, uter alterutrum vestrum magis amaret, discus crepuit, id est, pater meus in balneum transisse nuntiatus est. Loti igitur in torculari cenavimus (non loti in torculari, sed loti cenavimus) et rusticos cavillantes audivimus libenter. Inde reversus, antequam in latus converto, ut stertam, meum pensum explico et diei rationem meo suavissimo magistro reddo, quem si possem magis desiderare, libenter plusculum macerarer.

Valebis, mihi Fronto, ubiubi es, mellitissime, meus amor, mea voluptas. Quid mihi tecum est? Amo absentem.

ad M. Caesarem 4.7

[63 VdH; 1.184 Haines]

Have, mihi magister dulcissime.

Tandem tabellarius proficiscitur, et ego tridui acta mea ad te tandem possum dimittere. Nec quicquam dico: Ita epistulis prope ad triginta dictandis spiritum insumpsi. Nam quod proxime tibi de epistulis placuerat, nondum ad patrem meum pertuli. Sed cum dis juvantibus ad urbem veniemus, admone me, ut tibi aliquid de hac re narrem. Sed quae tua et mea metectoria est, neque tu me admonebis neque ego tibi narrabo; atque enim re vera opus consulto est.

Vale, meum - quid dicam? Quidquid dixero, satis non est. Vale, meum desiderium, mea voluptas.

ad M. Caesarem 4.8

[63 VdH; 1.184 Haines]

Magistro meo salutem.

Adventum tuum mihi frater tuus nuper εὐηγγέλισατο. Cupio mehercule, possis venire, quod salute tua fiat. Spero enim fore, ut etiam valetudine meae conspectus tuus aliquid contollat: “εἰς ὅμματ’ εὖνου φωτὸς ἐμβλέψαι γλυκύ”, Euripides ait, opinor. Ego praesentiarum sic me habeo, ut vel hinc aestimatu facile sit tibi, quod haec precaria manu scribo. Sane quidem, quod ad vires adtinet, incipiunt redire: Pectoris etiam dolor nullus residuus; ulcus autem

illud ἀπεργάζεται τῆς ἀρτηρίας. Nos remedia experimur et, ne quid operae nostrae claudat, advigilamus. Neque enim ulla alia re tolerabiliora diuturna incommoda fieri sentio quam conscientia curae diligentis et temperantiae medicis obsequentis. Turpe alioqui fuerit diutius vitium corporis quam animi studium ad recipendam sanitatem posse durare.

Vale, mi jucundissime magister. Salutat te mater mea.

ad M. Caesarem 4.9

[64 VdH; 1.186 Haines]

Domino meo.

Accepi litteras tuas elegantissime scriptas, quibus tu intervallo desiderium litterarum mearum obortum tibi esse ais. Est igitur vera Socrati opinio doloribus ferme voluptates conexas esse, cum in carcere dolorem constricti vinculi voluptate resoluti compensaret. Item profecto in nobis, quantum molestiae absentia, tantum commodi adfert desiderium inritatum. Nam desiderium ex amore est. Igitur amor cum desiderio auctus est, quod est in amicitia multo optimum. Tum, quod quaeris de valetudine mea, jam prius scripseram tibi me umeri dolore vexatum ita vehementer quidem, ut illam ipsam epistulam, qua id significabam, scribendo dare operam nequirem, sed uterer contra morem nostrum <...>

[quattuor paginae desunt]

ad M. Caesarem 4.10

[64 VdH; 1.188 Haines]

Magistro meo salutem.

Haec me in praesentia <...>

Vale, mi Frono carissime. Mater mea te salutat. Consulem nostrum saluta et matronam nostram.

ad M. Caesarem 4.11

[65 VdH; 1.202 Haines]

Caesar Frontoni.

Volentibus dis spem salutis nancisci videmur: Alvi fluxus constitit, febriculae depulsae; macies tamen pertenuis et tussiculae nonnihil restat. Profecto intellegis de parvola nostra Faustina haec me tibi scribere, pro qua

satis egimus. Tibi valetudo an pro meo voto se adcommode, fac sciam, mi magister.

ad M. Caesarem 4.12

[65 VdH; 1.202 Haines]

Fronto Caesari.

Ut ego, di boni, consternatus sum lecto initio epistulae tuae! Quod ita scriptum fuit, ut tuum aliquod valetudinis periculum significari suspicarer. Postquam deinde illud periculum quod quasi tuum principio litterarum tuarum acceperam filiae tuae Faustinae fuisse aperuisti, quantum mihi permutatus est pavor! Nec permutatus modo, verum etiam nescio quo pacto nonnihil sublevatus. Dicas licet: “Leviusne tibi visum est filiae meae periculum quam meum? Tibine ita visum, qui praefers Faustinam id tibi esse quod lucem serenam, quod diem festum, quod spem propinquam, quod votum impetratum, quod gaudium integrum, quod laudem nobilem atque incolumem?” Equidem ego, quid mihi legenti litteras tuas subvenerit, scio; qua vero id ratione evenerit nescio; nescio, inquam, cur magis ad tuum quam ad tuae filiae periculum consternatus sim, nisi forte, tametsi paria sint, graviora tamen videntur, quae ad aures prius accidunt. Quae denique huiusce rei ratio tu facilius scias, qui de natura et sensibus hominum scis amplius aliquid meliusque didicisti. Ego, qui a meo magistro et parente Athenodoto ad exempla et imagines quasdam rerum, quas ille εἰκόνας appellabat, apte animo comprehendendas adcommoendasque mediocriter institutus sum, hanc huiusce rei imaginem repperisse videor, cur meus translatus metus levior sit mihi visus: Simile solere evenire onus grave umero gestantibus, cum illud onus in sinistrum ab dextro umero transtulere, quamquam nihil de pondere deminutum sit, tamen ut oneris translatio videatur etiam et relevatio. Nunc quoniam postrema parte epistulae tuae qua meliuscule jam valere Faustinam nuntiasti omnem mihi prosus metum ac sollicitudinem depulisti, non alienum tempus videtur de meo adversus te amore remissius aliquid tecum et liberalius fabulandi; nam ferme metu magno et pavore relevatis conceditur ludere aliquid atque ineptire. Ego quanto opere te diligam, non minus de gravibus et seriis experimentis quam plerisque etiam frivolis sentio. Quae aut cujusmodi sint haec frivola indicabo.

Si quando te “somno leni”, ut poeta ait, “placidoque revinctus” video in

somnis, numquam est quin amplectar et exosculer. Tum pro argumento
cujusque somni aut fleo ubertim aut exulto laetitia aliqua et voluptate. Hoc
unum ex Annalibus sumptum amoris mei argumentum poeticum et sane
somniales. Accipe aliud, rixatorium jam hoc et jurgiosum. Nonnumquam
ego te coram paucissimis ac familiarissimis meis gravioribus verbis absentem
insectatus sum: Olim hoc cum tristior, quam par erat, in coetum hominum
progredere vel cum in theatro tu libros vel in convivio lectitabas (nec ego
dum tum theatris necdum conviviis abstinebam), tum igitur ego te durum et
intempestivum hominem, odiosum etiam nonnumquam ira percitus
appellabam. Quodsi quis alius eodem te convicio audiente me detrectaret,
aequo animo audire non poteram. Ita mihi facilius erat ipsum loqui quam alios
de te sequi quid dicere perpeti; ita ut Cratiam meam filiam facilius ipse
percusserim, quam ab alio percuti viderim. Tertium de meis frivolis addam.
Scis, ut in omnibus argentariis mensulis perguleis taberneis protecteis
vestibulis fenestris usquequaque, ubique imagines vestrae sint volgo
propositae, male illae quidem pictae pleraeque et crassa, lutea immo Minerva
fictae scalptraeve; cum interim numquam tua imago tam dissimilis ad oculos
meos in itinere accidit, ut non ex ore meo excusserit jactum osculei et savi.

Nunc ut frivolis finem faciam et convertar ad serius, hae litterae tuae cum
primis indicio mihi fuerunt, quanto opere te diligam, cum magis perturbatus
sum ad tuum quam ad filiae tuae periculum: Cum alioqui te quidem mihi,
filiam vero tuam etiam tibi, ut par est, superstitem cupiam. Sed heus tu
videbis, ne delator existas neve indicio pareas apud filiam, quasi vero ego te
quam illam magis diligam. Nam periculum est, ne ea re filia tua commota, ut
est gravis et prisca femina, poscenti mihi manus et plantas ad saviandum ea
causa iratior subtrahat aut gravatius porrigat; cujus ego, dei boni, manus
parvolas plantasque illas pinguiculas tum libentius exosculabor, quam tuas
cervices regias tuumque os probum et facetum.

ad M. Caesarem 4.13

[67 VdH; 1.214 Haines]

Magistro meo.

C. Aufidius animos tollit, arbitratum suum in caelum fert, negat se
hominem justiore, ne quid immoderatius dicam, ex Umbria ullum alium
Romam venisse. Quid quaeris? Judicem se quam oratorem vult laudari. Cum

rideo, despicit: Facile esse ait oscitantem judici assidere, ceterum quidem judicare praeclarum opus. Haec in me. Sed tamen negotium belle se dedit, bene est, gaudeo.

Tuus adventus me cum *beat* tum sollicitat. Cur *beet*, nemo quaerat. Quamobrem sollicitet ego me dius Fidius fatebor tibi. Nam quod scribendum dedisti, ne paululum quidem operae ei, quamvis otiosus, dedi. Aristonis libri me hac tempestate bene accipiunt atque idem habent male: Cum docent meliora, tum scilicet bene accipiunt; cum vero ostendunt, quantum ab his melioribus ingenium meum relictum sit, nimis quam saepe erubescit discipulus tuus sibi que suscenset, quod viginti quinque natus annos nihildum bonarum opinionum et puriorum rationum animo hauserim. Itaque poenas do, irascor, tristis sum, ζηλοτυπῶ, cibo careo. His nunc ego curis devinctus obsequium scribendi cotidie in diem posterum protuli. Sed jam aliquid comminiscar et, quod orator quidam Atticus Atheniensium contionem monebat, “nonnumquam permittendum legibus dormire”, libris Aristonis propitiatis paulisper quiescere concedam meque ad istum histrionum poetam totum convertam lecteis prius oratiunculeis Tullianeis. Scribam autem alterutram partem, nam eadem de re diversa tueri numquam prosus ita dormiet Aristo, uti permittat.

Vale, mi optime et honestissime magister. Domina mea te salutat.

LIBER V

ad M. Caesarem 5.1

[69 VdH; 1.188 Haines]

Domino meo.

Si quicquam nos amas, dormei per istas noctes, ut forti colore in senatum venias et vehementi latere legas.

ad M. Caesarem 5.2

[70 VdH; 1.188 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Ego te numquam satis amabo: dormiam.

ad M. Caesarem 5.3

[70 VdH; 1.188 Haines]

Domino meo.

Miserere, unum verbum de oratione ablega et quaeso, ne umquam eo utaris: 'dictionem' pro 'orationem'.

Vale, domine, mea gloria immortalis, matrem dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.4

[70 VdH; 1.190 Haines]

R(escriptum).

Cras me de hoc verbo tibi, si admonueris, defendam <...>

[quattuor paginae desunt]

ad M. Caesarem 5.5

[70 VdH; 1.190 Haines]

Domino meo.

Quam fortis advenias <...>

ad M. Caesarem 5.6

[70 VdH; 1.190 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Fortes venimus <...>

ad M. Caesarem 5.7

[70 VdH; 1.190 Haines]

Domino meo.

Sume cibum, domine <...>

ad M. Caesarem 5.8

[70 VdH; 1.190 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Sumpsi cibum <...>

ad M. Caesarem 5.9

[70 VdH; 1.190 Haines]

Domino meo.

Si animus Faustinae <...>

ad M. Caesarem 5.10

[70 VdH; 1.190 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Et consilio tuo obsequor <...>

ad M. Caesarem 5.11

[70 VdH; 1.190 Haines]

Domino meo.

At Hercule compleri tempus <...>

ad M. Caesarem 5.12

[71 VdH; 1.190 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Nimis diu sollicitus <...>

ad M. Caesarem 5.13

[71 VdH; 1.190 Haines]

Domino meo.

Mirifice ego quidem <...>

ad M. Caesarem 5.14

[71 VdH; 1.190 Haines]

Magistro meo.

In media incommoda <...>

ad M. Caesarem 5.15

[71 VdH; 1.190 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Adflictus sum labore <...>

ad M. Caesarem 5.16

[71 VdH; 1.190 Haines]

Domino meo.

Fatigatio ista tua <...>

ad M. Caesarem 5.17

[71 VdH; 1.190 Haines]

Domino meo.

Modo mihi Cratia <...>

ad M. Caesarem 5.18

[71 VdH; 1.190 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Possum satis pro re ista <...>

ad M. Caesarem 5.19

[71 VdH; 1.190 Haines]

Domino meo.

Cajetae substiti <...>

ad M. Caesarem 5.20

[71 VdH; 1.194 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Quantam tu mihi <...>

<...> in biduo nunc, si videtur, dentes adprimamus tamen; et quo brevius iter sit tibi recenti morbo, Cajetae nos opperire. Facio delicias, quod ferme evenit, quibus, quod cupiunt, tandem in manu est: Differunt, affluunt,

gestiunt; ego vero etiam fastidio omnia.

Domina mater te salutat, quam ego hodie rogabo, ut ad me Cratiam perducatur, 'vel fumum', inquit, 'patriae' Grajus poeta. Vale, mi, omnia mea, magister. Amo me, quod te visurus sum.

ad M. Caesarem 5.21

[72 VdH; 1.192 Haines]

Domino meo.

Postquam profecti estis, genus dolore arreptus sum, verum ita modico, ut et ingreder pedetemptim et vehiculo uterer. Hac nocte vehementior dolor invasit, ita tamen, ut jacens facile patiar, nisi quod amplius ingruerit. Augustam tuam vexatam audio. Diis quidem salutem ejus commendo.

Vale, domine dulcissime. Dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.22

[72 VdH; 1.194 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Ludis tu quidem, at mihi peramplam anxietatem et summam aegritudinem, dolorem et ignem flagrantissimum litteris his tuis misisti, ne cenare, ne dormire, ne denique studere libeat. Verum tu orationis hodiernae tuae habeas aliquod solacium; at ego quid faciam, qui e auditionis omnem jam voluptatem consumpsei et metuo, ne Lorium tardiuscule venias, et doleo, quod interim doles?

Vale, mi magister, cujus salus meam salutem inlibatam et incolumem facit.

ad M. Caesarem 5.23

[72 VdH; 1.196 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Ego dies istos tales transegi: Soror dolore muliebrum partium ita correpta est repente, ut faciem horrendam viderim. Mater autem mea in ea trepidatione imprudens angulo parietis costam infixit: Eo ictu graviter et se et nos adfecit. Ipse cum cubitum irem, scorpionem in lecto offendi; occupavi tamen eum occidere, priusquam supra accumberem. Tu si rectius vales, est solacium. Mater jam levior est deis volentibus.

Vale, mi optime, dulcissime magister. Domina mea te salutatur.

ad M. Caesarem 5.24

[73 VdH; 1.196 Haines]

Domino meo.

Quom te salvom et inlaesum dei praestiterunt, maximas deis gratias ago. Te certum habeo, cum tua instituta reputo, haud perturbatum; ego, quamlibet vos sapientes me inrideatis, comsternatus equidem sum.

Vale, domine dulcissime, et deis curae esto. Dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.25

[73 VdH; 1.194 Haines]

Domino meo.

Modo mihi Victorinus indicat dominam tuam magis caluisse quam heri. Cratia leviora omnia nuntiavit. Ego te idcirco non vidi, quod ex gravidine sum inbecillus. Cras tamen mane domum ad te veniam; eadem, si tempestivom erit, etiam dominam visitabo.

ad M. Caesarem 5.26

[73 VdH; 1.194 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Caluit et hodie Faustima, et quidem id ego magis hodie videor mihi deprehendisse; sed deis juvantibus aequiorem animum mihi facit ipsa, quod se tam obtemperanter nobis accomodat. Tu, si potuisses scilicet, venisses. Quod jam potes, et quod venturum promittis, delector, mi magister. Vale, mi jucundissime magister.

ad M. Caesarem 5.27

[73 VdH; 1.196 Haines]

Domino meo.

Quomodo manseris, domine, scire cupio. Ego cervicum dolore arreptus sum. Vale, domine. Dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.28

[73 VdH; 1.196 Haines]

Magistro meo sal(utem).

Noctem sine febri videor transmissee; cibum non invitus cepi, nunc ago

levissime. Nox quid ferat, cognoscemus. Sed, mi magister, cervicum dolore te arreptum, quo animo didicerim, profecto ex tua proxima sollicitudine metiris.

Vale, mi jucundissime magister. Mater mea salutat te.

ad M. Caesarem 5.29

[74 VdH; 1.198 Haines]

Domino meo.

Cervicum, domine, dolore gravi sum correptus, de pede dolor decessit. Vale, domine optime. Dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.30

[74 VdH; 1.200 Haines]

Magistro meo sal(utem).

Cervicum dolores si tertia quoque die remiserint, erit, quod meam redeuntem valetudinem majorem in modum adjuvet, mi magister. Lavi et hodie et ambulavi paulum, cibi paulo plus sumpsi nondum tamen libente stomacho.

Vale, mi jucundissime magister. Mater mea te salutat.

ad M. Caesarem 5.31

[74 VdH; 1.200 Haines]

Magistro meo sal(utem).

Quom tibi etiam tum cervices doluerint, quom mihei scriberes, non possum aequo animo ferre neque sane volo aut debeo. Ego autem juvantibus votum tuum deis lavi hodie et cibi, quantum sat erat, cepi; vino etiam libenter usus sum.

Vale, mi jucundissime magister. Mater mea te salutat.

ad M. Caesarem 5.32

[74 VdH; 1.200 Haines]

Domino meo.

Dolores quidem cervicum nihil remiserunt, sed animo bene fuit, quom te balneo et vino libenter usum cognovi. Vale, domine. Dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.33

Domino meo.

Gravissimo dolore inguinis sum arreptus, quo omnis dolor a dorso et lumbis incubuit. Vale, domine. Dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.34

Magistro meo sal(utem).

Doluisse te inguina cognosco, mi magister, et cum recorder, quantam vexationem tibi iste dolor adferre soleat, gravissimam sollicitudinem patior. Sed me levat, quod spero illo spatio, quo perferebatur hoc nuntius, potuisse cedere fomentis et remediis omnem illam vim doloris. Nos aestivos calores adhuc experimur, sed cum parvolae nostrae, dixisse liceat, commode valeant, mera salubritate et verna temperie frui nos existimamus. Vale, mi optime magister.

ad M. Caesarem 5.35

Domino meo.

Patri tuo fac notum de infirmitate mea. An me quoque scribere ei debere putes, scribe mihi.

ad M. Caesarem 5.36

R(escriptum).

Statim, mi magister, indicabo domino meo necessitatem hujus quietis tuae. Velim tamen et a te scribi. Vale, mi optime et jucundissime magister.

ad M. Caesarem 5.37

Domino meo.

Ego prodormivi. Materiam misi tibi; res seria est: Consul populi Romani posita praetexta manicam induit, leonem inter juvenes quinquatribus percussit populo Romano spectante. Apud censores expostulatur. διασκεύασον, αὔξησον.

Vale, domine dulcissime. Dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.38

[75 VdH; 1.210 Haines]

R(escriptum).

Quando id factum et an Romae? Num illud dicis in Albano factum sub Domitiano? Praeterea in hac materia diutius laborandum est, ut factum credatur, quam ut irascatur. ἀπίθανος ὑπόθεσις videtur mihi quod plane †balucis†, qualem petieram. Rescribe statim de tempore.

ad M. Caesarem 5.39

[76 VdH; 1.212 Haines]

Magistro meo sal(utem).

Vindemias laetas atque tam firmissimo corpore agere te, mi magister, opto. Me adlevant nuntii de domnula mea commodiora dis iuvantibus indicantes. Vale, mi jucundissime magister.

ad M. Caesarem 5.40

[76 VdH; 1.212 Haines]

Domino meo.

In hortis vindemias ago. Commode valeo. Aegre tamen insisto dolore digitorum in sinistro pede. Pro Faustina mane cotidie deos appello: Scio enim me pro tua salute optare ac precari. Vale, mi domine dulcissime. Dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.41

[76 VdH; 1.212 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Ego adeo perscripsi (tu mitte aliud, quod scribam), sed librarius meus non praesto fuit, qui transcriberet. Scripsi autem non ex mea sententia, nam et festinavi et tua valetudo aliquantulum detrivit mihi; sed veniam cras petam, cum mittam.

Vale, mi dulcissime magister. Domina mea mater salutem tibi dicit. Nomen tribuni plebis, cui inposuit *notam* Acilius censor, quem scripsi, mitte mihi.

ad M. Caesarem 5.42

[76 VdH; 1.214 Haines]

Domino meo.

Tardius tibi, domine, rescribo; tardius enim libellum tuum aperui, quoniam ad agendum ad forum ibam. Ego commodius me habeo, tamen ulcusculum adhuc altius est. Vale, domine dulcissime. Dominam saluta.

M. Lucilius tribunus pl(ebis) hominem liberum, civem Romanum, cum collegae mitti juberent, adversus eorum sententiam ipsius vi in carcerem compegit. Ob eam rem a censoribus notatur. Divide primum causam, εἴτα εἰς ἑκάτερα τὰ μέρη ἐπιχείρησον καὶ κατηγορῶν καὶ ἀπολογούμενος. Vale, domine, lux omnium tuorum. Matrem dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.43

[77 VdH; 1.208 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Dies mihi totus vacuus erit. Si quid umquam me amasti, hodie ama et uberem mi materiam mitte, oro et rogo καὶ ἀντιβολῶ καὶ δέομαι καὶ ἱκετεύω. In illa enim centumviralei non inveni praeter ἐπιφωνήματα.

Vale, optime magister. Domina mea te salutatur. Volebam aliquid, ubi clamari debeat, scribere. Fave mi et quaere clamosam ὑπόθεσιν.

ad M. Caesarem 5.44

[77 VdH; 1.218 Haines]

Domino meo.

Perendie, domine, te videbo; sum enim adhuc a cubito et cervice infirmus. Fer me, obsecro, nimia et ardua a te postulantem: Ita in animum meum induxi posse te efficere, quantum contenderis. Nec deprecor, quin me oderis, nisei, quantum postulo, perfeceris, si, ut facis, animum et studium accommodaveris.

Vale, domine, anima mea mihi potior. Dominam matrem saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.45

[77 VdH; 1.228 Haines]

Domino meo.

Annum novum faustum tibi et ad omnia, quae recte cupis, prosperum cum tibi tum domino nostro patri tuo et matri et uxori et filiae ceterisque omnibus, quos merito diligis, precor. Metui ego invalido adhuc corpore turbae et inpressioni me committere. Si dei juvabunt, perendie vos vota nuncupantis

videbo.

Vale, mi domine dulcissime. Dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.46

[78 VdH; 1.230 Haines]

Magistro meo salut(em).

Et ipse prospere sis ingressus annum! Omne votum tuum dei tibi ad usum tuum, qui noster idem erit, devertant atque, ut facis, pro amicis bene optes, ceteris bene velis. Quae pro me precatus es, scio te precatum. Quod a turba cavisti, tibi et meae curae consuluisti. Quietius idem fiet perendie, si diu valetudo tua officio functa est.

Nescio, an dominam suam *Cratia* salutaverit. Vale, mi dulcissime magister. Mater mea te salutat.

ad M. Caesarem 5.47

[78 VdH; 1.230 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Et nunc sanus et deinceps validus, laetus, compos omnium votorum agas diem natalem, mi magister! Quae mea precatio sollemnis semper auctior fit, quanto magis accedit et mihi firmitas ad diligendum et aetas suavissimae familiaritatis nostrae.

Vale, mi magister jucundissime mihi. Mater mea te salutat. Cratiae salutem dic et osculum da meo nomine.

ad M. Caesarem 5.48

[78 VdH; 1.232 Haines]

R(e)sc(ri)ptum).

Quaecumque mihi precatus es, omnia in tua salute locata sunt. Mihi sanitas, bona valetudo, laetitia, res prosperae meae ibi sunt, cum tu corpore, animo, rumore tam incolumi uteris, tam carus patri, tam dulcis matri, tam sacntus uxori, tam fratri bonus ac benignus. Haec sunt, quae me cum hac valetudine tamen cupientem vitae faciunt: Absque te satis superque et aetatis et laboris et artis et gloriae, dolorum vero et aegritudinum aliquanto plus quam satis superque.

Filiae meae jussu tuo osculum tuli: Numquam mihi tam suavis tamque

saviata visa. Dominam saluta, domine dulcissime. Vale et fer osculum matronae tuae.

ad M. Caesarem 5.49

[79 VdH; 1.234 Haines]

Domino meo.

Saenius Pompejanus in plurimis causis a me defensus, postquam publicum Africae redemit, plurimis causis rem familiarem nostram adjuvat. Commendo eum tibi, cum ratio ejus a domino nostro patre tuo tractabitur, benignitatem ingenitam tibi, quam omnibus ex more tuo tribuis, ut huic et mea commendatione et tua consuetudine ductus inpertias. Vale, domine, dulcissime.

ad M. Caesarem 5.50

[79 VdH; 1.234 Haines]

R(escriptum).

Pompejanus meritis isdem, quibus te sibi conciliavit, me quoque promeruit. Quare cupio omnia ei ex indulgentia domini mei patris obsecundare; nam ea, quae tibi ex sententiae procedunt, gaudia sunt mea.

Vale, mi magister jucundissime. Faustina et parvolae nostrae te salutant.

ad M. Caesarem 5.51

[79 VdH; 1.234 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Si te in provincia, mi magister, adierit Themistocles quidam, qui se Apollonio magistro meo dicat philosophiae cognitum, eum sese, qui hac hieme Romam venerit et mihi voluntate magistri per filium Apollonium sit demonstratus, ei tu, mi magister, velim, quod possis, bene facias, bene suadeas. Nam jus et aequom omnibus Asianeis erit apud te paratissimum, sed consilium, comitatem, quaeque amicis sine ullo quojusquam incommodo propria inpertire fides ac religio proconsulis permittit, peto Themistocli libens inpertias.

Vale, mi jucundissime magister. Rescripto nihil opus est.

ad M. Caesarem 5.52

Domino meo.

Aridelus iste, qui tibi litteras meas reddit, a pueritia me curavit, a studio perdicum usque ad seria officia. Libertus vester est; procuravit vobis industrie: Est enim homo frugi et sobrius et acer et diligens. Petit nunc procurationem ex forma suo loco ac justo tempore. Faveto ei, domine, quod poteris. Si formam non cognosces hominis, ubi ad nomen Arideli ventum fuerit, memento *a* me tibi Aridelum commendatum.

Vale, domine dulcissime. Dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.53

Domino meo.

Utrum facti virtus ornaverit orationem, an oratio factum nobilissimum aequiperaverit, incertus sum. Certe quidem ejusdem dicta, cujus illa facta. Sed et fratris tui oratio me delectavit, nam et ornata fuit et cordata; et certum habeo eum minimum spatii habuisse ad meditandum.

ad M. Caesarem 5.54

R(escriptum).

Reversus a convivio patris libellum tuum accepi, dimisso jam, ut cognosco, eo per quem fuerat allatus. Rescribo igitur vespera multa, quod tu legas die crastino. Orationem patris mei parem materiae suae visam tibi nihil mirum est, mi magister. Fratris autem mihi gratiarum actio eo laudabilior est, quo minus ad meditandum, ut conjectas, habuit spatii.

Vale, *mi* jucundissime mihi magister. Mater mea te salutat.

ad M. Caesarem 5.55

Domino meo.

Cholera usque eo adflictus sum, ut vocem amitterem, singultirem, suspirio *angerer*, postremo venae deficerent, sine ullo pulsu venarum animo male fieret. Denique conclamatus sum a nostris; neque sensi aliquandiu; ne balneo quidem aut frigida aut cibo recreandi me ac fovendi medicis tempus aut occasio data; nisi post vesperam micularum minimum cum vino destillatum

gluttivi. Ita fociatus totus sum. Postea per continuum triduum vocem non recipiavi. Sed nunc deis iuvantibus commodissime valeo, facilius ambulo, clarius clamito; denique, si dei iuvabunt, cras vehiculo vectari destino. Si facile silicem toleravero, quantum pote ad te curram. Tum vixero, cum te videro. A(n)te d(iem) VII Kal(endas) Romam proficiscar, sei dei iuvabunt.

Vale, domine dulcissime, desiderantissime, causa optima vitae meae. Dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.56

[81 VdH; 1.242 Haines]

Magistro meo sal(utem).

Post tempus te videre cupiebam: Quid tu censes post periculum? Quod suffigisse te, mi magister, iterum deis ago gratias lectis litteris tuis, quae me rusum quasi renovant; cum commemorares, quo in loco fueris, consternarunt. Sed habeo te deis volentibus et, ut promittis, propediem videbo et bene spero de bona longa valetudine.

Salutat te mater mea. Vale, mi jucundissime magister.

ad M. Caesarem 5.57

[81 VdH; 1.244 Haines]

Domino meo.

Plurimos natales liberum tuorum prosperis tuis rebus ut celebres parentibus gratus, populo acceptus, amicis probatus, fortuna et genere et loco tuo dignus, omni vita mea redemisse cupiam, non hac modo exigua vita, quae mihi superest, sed illa etiam, quam vixi, si quomodo in integrum redigi ac pro te tuisque ac liberum tuorum commodis in solutum dependi potest. Si facile ingredi possem, hic erat dies, quo cum primis conplecti te cuperem, sed concedendum est pedibus scilicet, quando ipsi parum procedunt. Ego de aquarum usu delibero. Si certius quid statuero, faciam tibi notum.

Vale, mi domine dulcissime. Faustinam tuam meis verbeis appella et gratulare et matronas nostras meo nomine exosculare, sed, uti ego soleo, cum plantis illis et manibus. Dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.58

[82 VdH; 1.244 Haines]

Magistro meo sal(utem).

Salvos esto nobis, salva sit domus tibi domus tua, salva nostra; quae, si animum nostrum spectes, una est domus. Recte scio autem, si vel difficulter ingredi posses, venturum te ad nos fuisse. Sed venies saepe, et tecum celebrabimus, si dei volent, omnia festa nostra.

Vale, mi magister jucundissime. Mater mea te salutat.

ad M. Caesarem 5.59

[82 VdH; 1.246 Haines]

Domino meo.

Pueri dum e balneis me sellula, ut adsolent, advehunt, imprudentius ad ostium balnei fervens adflixerunt. Ita genus mihi simul abrasum et ambustum est; postea etiam inguem ex ulcere extitit. Visum medicis, ut lectulo me tenerem. Hanc causam, si tibi videbitur, etiam domino patri tuo indicabis, si tamen videbitur. Etiam cras mihi adsistendum erit familiari. Hodierno igitur otio et quiete labori me crastino praeparabo. Victorinus noster aget, ne me acturum putes.

Vale, domine dulcissime. Dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.60

[82 VdH; 1.246 Haines]

Magistro meo sal(utem).

Auxisti curas mihi, quas opto, quam primum releves sedatis tibi doloribus genus et inguinis. Me autem infirmitas dominae meae matris quiescere non sinit. Eo accedit adpropinquatio partus Faustinae. Sed confidere dis debemus.

Vale, mi magister jucundissime mihi. Mater mea te salutat.

ad M. Caesarem 5.61

[82 VdH; 1.248 Haines]

Domino meo.

Ipsa die, qua proficisci destinabam, genus dolorem sensi. Spero in paucis diebus me recte fore. Vale, domine optime. Dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.62

[83 VdH; 1.248 Haines]

Magistro meo sal(utem).

Nunc denique opto, mi magister, jucundiora indices. Nam doluisse te in id tempus, quo mihi scribebas, litterae declarant. Haec obambulans dictavi; nam eum motum in praesentia ratio corpusculei desiderabat. Vindemiarum autem gratiam nunc demum integram sentiam, cum tua valetudo placatior esse nobis coeperit.

Vale, mi jucundissime magister.

ad M. Caesarem 5.63

[83 VdH; 1.248 Haines]

Domino meo.

Plantae, domine, dolore impediior, ideo vos per istos dies non salutavi. Vale, domine optime. Dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.64

[83 VdH; 1.248 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Quom salubre tibi est facile progredi, tunc et nobis conspectus tuus erit jucundus. Id ut quam primum eveniat et dolor plantae quiescat, di juvent. Vale, mi optime magister.

ad M. Caesarem 5.65

[83 VdH; 1.224 Haines]

Domino meo.

Ego gravissime arreptus sum iterum ab altero inguine.

ad M. Caesarem 5.66

[83 VdH; 1.226 Haines]

R(escriptum).

Quom haec scribas mihi, *mi* magister, credo, intelligis sollicitissimum me vota facere pro salute tua, cujus dis juvantibus cito compotes erimus. Vale, mi magister jucundissime.

ad M. Caesarem 5.67

[83 VdH; 1.250 Haines]

Domino meo.

Decem tanta te amo. Filiam tuam vidi. Videor mihi te simul et Faustinam infantes vidisse: Tantum boni ex utriusque vultu est commixtum. Decem tanta te amo.

Vale, domine dulcissime. Dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.68

[84 VdH; 1.250 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Et nos Cratiam, quod tui similis est, magis amamus. Facile ergo intellegimus, quanta apud te sit filiulae nostrae conciliatrix similitudo utriusque nostri, et omnino, quod eam vidisti, est jucundum mihi. Vale, mi optime magister.

ad M. Caesarem 5.69

[84 VdH; 1.250 Haines]

Domino meo.

Tertius est dies, quod per noctem morsus ventris cum profluvio patior. Hac vero nocte ita sum vexatus, ut prodire non potuerim, sed lectulo me teneam. Medici suadent balneo uti. Multos nataleis tuos ut celebres, a dis precatus sum.

Vale, domine. Dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.70

[84 VdH; 1.252 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Tu quoque intellegis, mi magister, quid ego pro me optem: Sanum et validum te deinceps et hunc diem tuum sollemnem et ceteros vel nobiscum vel nobis utique securis pro te quam diutissime celebrare. Ceterum ego conjectavi statim fuisse ejusmodi aliquid, quamobrem te non viderim, et, si dicendum est, delector potius talem querellam corpusculi quam dolores aliquos intercessisse. Praeterea de profluvio isto bene spero, nam, etsi nunc te exhaustum, tamen dis volentibus confido salubriter sponte provenisse alvum tibi verno tempore, quom alii id consulto movent et machinantur.

Vale, mi jucundissime magister. Mater mea te salutatur.

ad M. Caesarem 5.71

[84 VdH; 1.252 Haines]

Domino meo.

Fauces miseras habeo, unde etiam calui per noctem. In genu dolor est modicus. Vale, domine. Dominam saluta.

ad M. Caesarem 5.72

[84 VdH; 1.252 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Jam habeo, quod primum et praecipuum desiderabam: Desisse febriculam colligo ex litteris tuis. Nunc, mi magister, quod ad fauces adtinet, brevi temperantia aspelletur, et mihi adplenior nuntius veniet.

Vale, mi magister jucundissime mihi. Mater mea te salutat.

ad M. Caesarem 5.73

[85 VdH; 1.186 Haines]

Domino meo.

Vexatus sum, domine, nocte diffuso dolore per umerum et cubitum et genu et talum. Denique id ipsum tibi mea manu scribere non potui.

ad M. Caesarem 5.74

[85 VdH; 1.52 Haines]

Have, mi magister optime.

Egone ut studeam, cum tu doleas, praesertim cum mea causa doleas? Non me omnibus incommodis sponte ipse adflictem? Merito hercule. Quis enim tibi alius dolorem genus, quem scribis nocte proxuma auctum, quis alius eum suscitavit nisi Centum Cellae, ne me dicam? Quid igitur faciam, qui nec te video et tanto angore discrucior? Adde eo quod, etiamsi libeat studere, iudicia prohibent, quae, ut dicunt, qui sciunt, dies totos eximunt. Misi tamen tibi hodiernam γνώμην et nudius tertianum locum communem. Heri totum diem in itinere adtrivimus. Hodie difficile est, ut praeter vespertinam γνώμην quicquam agi possit. “Nocte”, inquis, “tam longa dormis?”, et dormire quidem possum; nam sum multi somni. Sed tantum frigoris est in cubiculo meo, ut manus vix exseri possit. Sed revera illa res maxime mihi animum a studiis depulit, quod, dum nimium litteras amo, tibi incommodus apud Portum fui, ut

res ostendit. Itaque valeant omnes Porci et Tulli et Crispi, dum tu valeas et te vel sine libris firmum tamen videam.

Vale, praecipuum meum gaudium, magister dulcissime. Domina mea te salutat. γνώμας tres et locos communes mitte.

**EPISTULARUM AD ANTONINUM IMPERATOREM
ET INVICEM**

LIBER I

ad Anton.Im.1

[86 VdH; 2.30 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Bonum annum, bonam salutem, bonam fortunam peto a dis die mihi sollemni natali tuo compotemque me voti fore confido; nam quem sponte dei juvisse volunt et dignum ope sua judicant, eum commendo benignitati eorum. Tu cum alia laetabilia, mi magister, in tuo animo festo die agitabis, numerato apud te, qui te valde diligant: In iis primis hunc tuum discipulum ponito, inibi dominum meum fratrem, πάθει φιλοῦντάς σε ἀνθρώπους.

Vale et perennem multis annis bonam valetudinem, mi magister, obtine laetissimus incolumitate filiae, nepotum, generi. Nostra Faustina reficit sanitatem. Pullus noster Antoninus aliquo lenius tussit. Quantum quisque in nidulo nostro jam sapit, tantum pro te precatur. Iterum atque iterum ac porro in longam senectam bene vale, jucundissime magister. Peto a te, sed impetratum sit, ne te ob diem natalem Cornificiae Lorum vexes. Dis volentibus Romae paucis diebus nos videbis. Sed post diem natalem tuum, si me amas, nox quae sequitur, fac jam placide quiescas sine ullius instantis officii cogitatione. Hoc Antonino tuo da sollicite et vere petentei.

ad Anton.Im.2

[86 VdH; 2.32 Haines]

Antonino Augusto Fronto.

Seni huic et, ut tu appellas, magistro tuo bona salus, bonus annus, bona fortuna, res omnis bona, quae tu scribis, ea te mihi ab dis die tibi sollemnissimo natali meo precatum. Omnia mihi ista in te tuoque fratre sita sunt, Antonine meo cordi dulcissime; quos ego postquam cognovi meque vobis transdidi, nihil umquam prae vobis dulcius habui neque habere possum, tametsi alios annos totidem de integro, quantum vixi, vivam. Hoc igitur unum conjunctis precibus ab deis precemur, uti vos incolumes et florentes et rei p(ublicae) familiaeque vestrae prospere potentes aetatem longam degatis. Nec quicquam est praeterea, quod ego tantopere vel ab deis vel a Forte Fortuna vel a vobis ipsis impetratum cupiam quam, ut vestro conspectu et adfatu vestrisque tam jucundis litteris frui quam mihi diutissime liceat, eique ego rei,

sei fieri possit, repuerascere opto.

Nam quod ad ceteras res alioqui adtinet, sat vitae est. Video te, Antonine, principem tam egregium, quam speravi, tam justum, tam innocentem, quam spopondi, tam gratum populo Romano et acceptum, quam optavi, tam mei amantem, quam ego volui, tam disertum, quam ipse voluisti. Nam ubi primum coepisti rursus velle, nihil offuit interdum noluisse. Fieri etiam vos cotidie facundiores video et exulto quasi adhuc magister. Nam quom omnis virtutes vestras diligam et amplectar, fateor tamen praecipuum me et proprium gaudium ex eloquentia vestra capere. Itidem ut parentes, cum in vultu liberum oris sui lineamenta dinoscunt, ita ego cum in orationibus vestris vestigia nostrae sectae animadverto, γέγηθε δὲ φρένα Λήτω: Meis enim verbis exprimere vim gaudi mei nequeo.

Nec te recordatio ista urgeat nec omnino angat, quod tibi conscius es non perpetuam operam eloquentiae dedisse. Nam ita res habet: Qui magno ingenio praeditus recta via ad eloquentiam a principio inductus atque institutus fuerit, tametsi interdum concessarit aut restiterit, ubi primum progredi denuo et pergere visum erit, coeptum illud iter confecerit setius fortasse aliquo, minus tamen nihilo. Crede autem hoc mihi: Omnium hominum, quos ego cognoverim, uberiore, quam tu sis, ingenio adfectum comperisse me neminem. Quod quidem ego magna cum lite Victorini nostri et magna ejus cum bile adjurare solebam, cum eum adspirare ad pulchritudinem ingeni tui posse negarem. Tum ille meus Rusticus Romanus, qui vitam suam pro unguiculo tuo libenter dediderit atque devoverit, de ingenio tamen invitus et tristis aegre concedebat.

Unum tibi periculum fuit, Antonine, idem, quod omnibus, qui sublimi ingenio extiterunt, ne in verborum copia et pulchritudine clauderes; quanto enim ampliores sententiae creantur, tanto difficilior verbis vestiuntur, nec mediocriter laborandum est, ne procerae illae sententiae male sint amictae neve indecorius cinctae neve sint seminudae.

Meministin ejus orationis tuae, quam vixdum pueritiam egressus in senatu habuisti? In qua cum imagine utriculi ad exemplum adcommodandum usus esses, anxie verebare, ne parum pro loci et ordinis dignitate τὴν εἰκόνα usurpasses, meque primam illam longiusculam ad te epistulam scripsisse, qua id, quod res est, augurabar magni ingeni signum esse ad ejusmodi sententiarum pericula audaciter adgredi, sed quod eo opus esset, tuo te studio

et nonnulla nostra opera adsecuturum, ut digna tantis sententiis verborum lumina parares. Quod nunc vides provenisse et, quamquam non semper ex summis opibus ad eloquentiam velificaris, tamen sipharis et remis te tenuisse iter, atque ut primum vela pandere necessitas impulit, omnis eloquentiae studiosos ut lembos et celocas facile praetervehi.

Haec ut scriberem, productus sum proxuma epistula tua, qua scripsisti exolescere paulatim, quaecumque didicisses; mihi autem nunc cum maxime florere, quae didicisti, atque adolescere videntur. An parum animadvertis, quanto studio quantoque favore et voluptate dicentem te audiat senatus populusque Romanus? Et spondeo, quanto saepius audierit, tanto flagrantius amabit: Ita multa et grata sunt ingeni et oris et vocis et facundiae tuae delenimenta. Nimirum quisquam superiorum imperatorum (imperatoribus enim te comparare malo, ne viventibus compararem), quisquam illorum his figurationibus uteretur, quae Graeci schemata vocant? Ne longius repetam, vel proximo senatu, cum Cyzicenorum gravem causam commemorares, ita orationem tuam figurasti, quam figuram Graeci παράλειψιν appellant, ut praeterundo tamen diceres et dicendo tamen praeterires. In quo multa simul laudanda sunt: Primum hoc te doctissime perspexisse sociorum graves aerumnas non perpetua neque recta aut prolixa oratione exaggerandas, indicandas tamen esse impensius, ut digni senatus misericordia et auxilio viderentur. Deinde ita breviter rem omnem atque ita valide elocutus es, ut paucissimis verbis omnia, quae res posceret, continerentur, ut non ocius aut vehementius terra urbem illam quam animos audientium tua oratio moverit. Ecquid adgnosceis formam sententiae Tullianae: “Ut non ocius vehementius terra urbem illam quam animos audientium tua oratio moverit”? Ut quisque amore quempiam deperit, ejus etiam naevolae saviatur. Sed mihi crede amplissimum te jam tenere in eloquentia locum brevique summum ejus cacumen aditurum locuturumque inde nobiscum de loco superiore, nec tantulo superiore quanto rostra foro et comitio excelsiora sunt, sed quanto altiores antennae sunt prora vel potius carina. Praecipue autem gaudeo te verba non obvia arripere, sed optima quaerere. Hoc enim distat summus orator a mediocribus, quod ceteri facile contenti sunt verbis bonis, summus orator non est bonis contentus, si sunt ulla meliora.

Sed haec certo loco ac tempore pluribus vel scribemus ad te vel coram conloquemur. Ut voluisti, domine, et ut valetudo mea postulabat, domi mansi

tibique sum precatus, ut multos dies natales liberum tuorum prospere celebres. Pullo nostro tussiculam sedaverit et dies clementior et nutrix ejus, si cibis aptioribus vescatur: Omnia enim remedia atque omnis medelae fovendi infantium faucibus in lacte sunt sitae.

In oratione tua Cyzicena cum deos precareris, “et si fas est, obsecro” addidisti, quod ego me non memini legisse. Obsecrari enim et resecrari populus aut iudices solebant, sed me forsitan memoria fugerit: Tu diligentius animadvertito.

Me quoque tussicula vexat et manus dexterarum dolor, mediocris quidem, sed qui a rescribenda longiore epistula impeditur; dictavi igitur.

Quoniam mentio παραλείψεως habita est, non omittam, quin te impertiam, quod de figura ista studiosius animadverterim, neque Graecorum oratorum neque Romanorum, quos ego legerim, elegantius hac figura usum quemquam quam M. Porcium in ea oratione, quae de sumptu suo inscribitur, in qua sic ait:

“Jussi caudicem proferri, ubi mea oratio scripta erat de ea re, quod sponsonem feceram cum M. Cornelio. Tabulae prolatae; majorum bene facta perlecta; deinde, quae ego pro re p(ublica) fecissem, leguntur. Ubi id utrum perlectum est, deinde scriptum erat in oratione: “Numquam ego pecuniam neque meam neque sociorum per ambitionem largitus sum.” Attat, noli noli scribere, inquam, istud; nolunt audire. Deinde recitavit: “Numquam ego praefectos per sociorum vestrorum oppida inposivi, qui eorum bona, liberos diriperent.” Istud quoque dele; nolunt audire. Recita porro: “Numquam ego praedam neque, quod de hostibus captum esset, neque manubias inter pauculos amicos divisi, ut illis eriperem, qui cepissent.” Istuc quoque dele; nihil eo minus volunt dici. Non opus est recitato. “Numquam ego evectionem dataui, quo amici mei per symbolos pecunias magnas caperent.” Perge istuc quoque uti cum maxime delere. “Numquam ego argentum pro vino congiario inter apparitores atque amicos disdidi neque eos malo publico divites feci.” Enimvero usque istuc ad lignum dele. Vide, sis, quo in loco res p(ublica) siet, uti quod rei p(ublicae) bene fecissem, unde gratiam ceperam, nunc idem illud memorare non audeo, ne invidiae siet. Ita inductum est male facere inpoene, bene facere non inpoene licere.”

Haec forma παραλείψεως nova nec ab ullo alio, quod ego sciam, usurpata est. Jubet enim legi tabulas et, quod lectum sit, jubet praeteriri. A te quoque

novom factum, quod principium orationis tuae figura ista exorsus es; sicut multa alia nova et eximia facturum te in orationibus tuis certum habeo: Ita egregio ingenio natus es.

ad Anton.Im.3

[91 VdH; 2.118 Haines]

Domino meo Antonino Aug(usto) Fronto.

Vidi pullulos tuos, quod quidem libentissime in vita mea viderim, tam simili facie tibi, ut nihil sit hoc simili similius. Feci prorsus compendium itineris Lorium usque, compendium viae lubricae, compendium clivorum arduorum. Tamen vidi te non exadvorsum modo, sed locupletius sive me ad dexteram sive ad sinistram convertissem. Sunt autem dis juvantibus colore satis salubri, clamore forti. Panem alter tenebat bene candidum, ut puer regius, alter autem cibarium, plane ut a patre philosopho prognatus. Deos quaeso sit salvus sator, salva sint sata, salva seges sit, quae tam similes procreat. Nam etiam vuculas quoque eorum audivi tam dulcis, tam venustas, ut orationis tuae lepidum illum et liquidum sonum nescio quo pacto in utriusque pipulo agnoscerem. Jam tu igitur, nisi caves, superbiorem aliquanto me experiere: Habeo enim, quos pro te non oculis modo amem, sed etiam auribus.

ad Anton.Im.4

[92 VdH; 2.120 Haines]

Magistro meo sal(utem).

Vidi filiolos meos, quom eos tu vidisti; vidi et te, cum litteras tuas legerem. Oro te, mi magister, ama me, ut amas. Ama me sic etiam, quomodo istos parvos nostros amas. Nondum omne dixi, quod volo: Ama me, quomodo amasti. Haec ut scriberem, tuarum litterarum mira jucunditas produxit; nam de elegantia quid dicam nisi te Latine loqui, nos ceteros neque Graece neque Latine. Domino meo fratri peto scriptites. Valde volt, ut hoc a te impetrem; desideria autem illius intemperantem me et violentum faciunt.

Vale, mi jucundissime magister. Nepotem tuum saluta.

ad Anton.Im.5

[92 VdH; 2.122 Haines]

Antonino Augusto domino meo.

“Ante gestum, post relatum”, ajunt, qui tabulas sedulo conficiunt. Idem verbum epistulae huic opportunum est, quae litteris tuis nuper ad me scriptis nunc demum respondet. Causa morae fuit, quod, cum rescribere instituissem, quaedam menti meae se offerebant non “supino”, ut dicitur, “rostro” scribenda. Dein senatus dies intercessit, et in senatu labor eo gravior perceptus, quod cum gaudio semul altius penetraverat, ita ut cum sole ventus. Nunc haec epistula, quod non suo tempore praesto adfuerit, veniam in relationibus usitatam poscit: “Ne fraudi sit”.

Quom accepi litteras tuas, ita rescribere coeperam: “Ama me, ut amas”, inquis. Huic verbo respondere paulo verbis pluribus in animo est; prolixius enim rescribere tibi tempore illo solebam, quo amatum te a me satis compertum tibi esse tute ostendis. Vide, quaeso, ne temet ipse defrudes et detrimentum amoris ultro poscas: Amplius enim tanto amari te a me velim credas mihi, quanto omnibus in rebus potior est certus praesens fructus quam futuri spes incerta. Egone, qui indolem ingeniei tui in germine etiam tum et in herba et in flore dilexerim, nunc frugem ipsam maturae virtutis nonne multo multoque amplius diligam? Tum ego stolidissimus habear agrestium omnium omniumque aratorum, si mihi cariora sint sata messibus. Ego vero, quae optavi, quaeque vovi, compos optatorum votorumque meorum damnatus atque multatus sum: In eam multam duplicatum amorem tuum defero, non, ut antiquitus multas inrogari mos fuit, mille minus dimidio. Assae nutricis est infantem magis diligere quam adultum; suscensere etiam pubertati stulta nutrix solet puerum de gremio sibi abductum et campo aut foro traditum. Litteratores etiam isti discipulos suos, quoad puerilia discunt et mercedem pendunt, magis diligunt. Ego quom ad curam cultumque ingeniei tui accessi, hunc te speravi fore, qui nunc es: In haec tua tempora amorem meum intendi. Lucebat in pueritia tua virtus insita, lucebat etiam magis in adulescentia, sed ita ut cum serenus dies inluculascit lumine incohato. Nunc jam virtus integra orbe splendido exorta est et radiis disseminata. Et tu me ad pristinam illam mensuram luciscentis amoris tui revocas et jubes matutina dilucula lucere meridie? Audi, quaeso, quanto ampliore nunc sis virtute, quam antea fueris, quo facilius credas, quanto amplius amoris merearis, et poscere desinas tantundem.

Ut a pietate contendere te tibimet incipiam, obsequia erga patrem tua pristina commemorabo eaque cum praesentibus officiis comparabo. Quis

ignorat, ubi pater tuus minus valeret, te juxta cum eo carere balneo, vino, aqua etiam et cibo temet deducere solitum? Nulla umquam te neque somni neque vigiliae neque cibi *neque itineris prope tua tempora habuisse, sed patris temporibus servisse?* <...>

[permultae paginae desunt]

ad Anton.Im.6

[94 VdH; 2.126 Haines]

Magistro meo salutem.

Minus valui, mi magister <...>

ad Anton.Im.7

[94 VdH; 2.126 Haines]

Antonino Augusto domino meo.

Si ambulare jam <...>

ad Anton.Im.8

[94 VdH; 2.126 Haines]

Magistro meo salutem.

Festino, mi magister <...>

ad Anton.Im.9

[94 VdH; 2.128 Haines]

Antonino Augusto domino meo.

Non reticebo, quid <...>

ad Anton.Im.10

[94 VdH; 2.128 Haines]

Magistro meo salutem.

Ego, mi magister <...>

LIBER II

ad Anton.Im.1

[95 VdH; 2.94 Haines]

Domino meo Antonino Augusto Fronto.

[plures paginae desunt]

<...> abripere terrae, ut dicitur, immo cellae filios; tantam de thesauris Antonini pecuniam prodigei quam nescio quae ista altilis alumna accipiat unde nihil Egatheus acceperit. Quanti vero rumores adversi quantae querimoniae exorientur bonis lege Falcidia distractis? Lineam istam famosam atque celebratam ceteraque tantae pecuniae ornamenta quis emet? Tua uxor si emerit, praedam invasisse et minimo aere eripuisse dicetur eoque minus ad eos, quibus legatum erat, pervenisse, An non emet haec ornamenta Faustina? Quis igitur emet margarita quae filiabus tuis legata sunt? Iis margaritis collos filiarum tuarum despoliabis, ut cujus tandem ingluvies turgida ornetur?

An hereditas Matidiae a vobis non adibitur? Summo genere, summis opibus nobilissima femina de vobis optime merita intestata obierit? Ita prosus eveniet, ut cui funus oublicum decreveris ei ademeris tastamentum. Adhuc usque in omnibus causis justum te et gravem et sanctum iudicem exhibuisti: Ab uxorisne tuae causa prave iudicare inchoabis? Tum tu quidem ignem imitaberis, si proximos ambures, longinquis lucebis.

ad Anton.Im.2

[95 VdH; 2.96 Haines]

R(escriptum) magistro suo.

Ergo magister meus jam nobis et patronus erit! Equidem possum securus esse, cum duas res animo meo carissimas secutus sim, rationem veram et sententiam tuam. Di velint, ut semper, quod agam, secundo iudicio tuo, mi magister, agam.

Vides quid horae tibi rescribam. Nam post consultationem amicorum in hoc tempus collegi sedulo ea, quae nos moverant, ut domino meo perscriberem faceremque eum nobis in isto quoque negotio praesentem. Tum demum ἐγὼ θαρσῆσω τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις, cum fuerint ab illo comprobata. Orationem qua causam nostram defendisti Faustinae comfestim ostendam et agam gratias ei, quod mihi talis epistula tua legenda ex isto negotio nata est.

Bone et optime magister, vale.

[plures paginae desunt]

LIBER III

ad Anton.Im.1

[96 VdH; 2.158 Haines]

Domino meo.

<...>tatem historias opera apta neque illam moderationem orationi accommodatam; figuras etiam, quas Graeci σχήματα vocant illum historiae, hunc orationi congruentes adhibuisse; Sallustium antithetis honeste compositis usum: “Alieni adpetens, sui profusus; satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum”; paronomasia etiam non absurda nec frivola, sed proba et eleganti: “Simulator ac dissimulator”; Tullium vero commotissima et familiari orationibus figura usum quam scriptores artium ἐπαναφορὰν vocant. Sallustius sapius epeanaphoris usus iterata verba, “Quid audiui” dum repetat, ita *Tullius* de Pisone :

“Quis clarioribus viris quodam tempore jucundior, quis turpioribus conjunctior? Quis civis meliorum partium aliquando, quis taetrius hostis huic civitati? Quis in voluptatibus inquinatior, quis in laboribus patientior? Quis in rapacitate avarior, quis in largitione diffusior?”

Et porro deinceps ab eodem isto verbo sententiae inchoantur. Si videbitur, id quoque animadvertito et cum animo agitato an pro cetero ornatu ac tumultu a Cicerone medium illud inculpatum sit: “Cum omnibus communicare quod habebat”; nam mihi paulo hoc volgatius et jejunius videtur.

Non . . . bis dictio coortandi post illa Sallusti et Tulli de Catilina a L. Antoni altera iratus an putabam ostendere in Tulli praeter vetera ipsum . . . se magna pars juventutis sequebatur. Idcirco hoc in scripto jam faceres idem, quod pictor Calamis, qui numquam pingere equom quadrupedesve instituerat pingat.

Jugurthae forma ejusmodi est:

“Qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxime ingenio validus, non se luxu neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit, sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari cursu cum aequalibus certare et, cum omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse. Ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus aut in primis ferire; plurimum facere, minimum ipse de se loqui.”

“Nam Jugurtha, ut erat inpigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis,

qui tunc Romanis imperator erat, et morem hostium cognovit, multo labore multaque cura, praeterea modestissime parendo et saepe obviam eundo periculis in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maximo terrori esset. Ac sane, quod difficillimum in primis est, et proelio strenuus erat et bonus consilio, quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem afferre plerumque solet. Igitur imperator omnis fere res asperas per Jugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magisque eum in dies amplecti, quippe cujus neque consilium neque inceptum ullum frustra erat. Hoc accedebat munificentia animi atque ingeni solertia, quibus rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia conjunxerat. Ea tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures novi atque nobiles quibus divitiae bono honestoque potiores erant, factiosi domi, potentes apud socios, clari magis quam honesti.”

Ne agrei quidem forma praetereunda:

“Mare saevum, inportuosum; ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infecundus; caelo terraque penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum, ac plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro aut bestiis interiere, nam morbus haud saepe quem superat; *ad hoc* malefici generis plurima animalia.”

Tum illa persequitur non inscite:

“In regnum Adherbalis animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus; at is quem petebat quietus, inbellis, placido ingenio, opportunus injuriae, metuens magis quam metuendus.” Hoc de co(n)s(ulis) peritia: “Nam in consule nostro multae bonaeque artes et animi et corporis erant, quas omnis avaritia praepediebat: Patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissimus contra pericula et invidias.”

Milites deinde corrupti:

“Imperatori exercitus traditur a Spurio Albino proconsule iners, inbellis, neque periculi neque laboris patiens, lingua quam manu promptior, praedator ex sociis et ipse praeda hostium, sine imperio et modestia habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis quam ex copia militum auxilii aut spei bonae accedebat.”

Effeminatio:

“Nam Albinus Auli fratris exercitusque clade percussus, postquam decreverat non egredi provincia, quantum temporis aestivorum in imperio fuit,

plerumque milites stativis castris habebat, nisi cum odor aut pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat. Sed neque muniebantur neque more militari vigiliae deducebantur; uti cuique libebat, ab signis aberat. Lixae permixti cum militibus diu noctuque vagabantur et palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum praedas certantes agere eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advecticio et aliis talibus; praeterea frumentum datum publice vendere, panem in dies mercari; postremo quaecumque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviae luxuriaequae probra, ea in illo exercitu cuncta fuere et alia amplius. Sed in ea difficultate Metellum nec minus quam in rebus hostilibus magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior; tanta temperantia inter ambitionem saevitiamque moderatum; namque edicto primum adjumenta ignaviae sustulisse: Ne quisquam in castris panem aut quem alium cibum coctum venderet, ne lixae exercitum *insequerentur*, ne miles hastatus aut gregarius in castris neve in agmine servum aut jumentum haberet; ceteris arte modum statuisset. *Praeterea transversis itineribus cotidie castra movere, juxta ac si hostes adessent vallo atque fossa munire, vigiliis crebras ponere et eas ipse cum legatis circumire, item in agmine in primis modo, modo postremis, saepe in medio adesse, ne quispiam ordine egrederetur, ut cum signis frequentes incederent, miles cibum et arma portaret. Ita prohibendo a delictis magis quam vindicando exercitum brevi confirmavit.*

Tum forma Marii:

“Per idem tempus Uticae forte C. Mario per hostias dis supplicanti magna atque mirabilia *portendi* haruspex dixerat: Proinde quae animo agitabat, fretus dis ageret, fortunam quam saepissime experiretur; cuncta prospere eventura. At illum jam antea consulatus ingens cupido exagitabat <...>“

[quattuor paginae desunt]

“<...> *consuetam* durtiam et alia quae *ceteri* miserias vocant voluptati habuisse, nisi tamen res publica pariter atque saevissimo imperio bene atque decore gesta.”

Sed forma ea *imperatoris*; perlege et voluptaria:

“Sed in his erat Sempronia quae multa saepe virilis audaciae facinora commiserat. Haec mulier genere atque forma, praeterea viro, liberis satis fortunata fuit; litteris Graecis, Latinis docta, psallere, saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae, multa alia, quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt. Sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit; pecuniae an famae *minus*

parceret, haud *facile* discerneres; libido sic accensa, *ut* saepius peteret viros, quam peteretur.”

“Quis rebus permota civitas atque immutata urbis facies erat. Ex summa laetitia lasciviaque quae diuturna quies pepererat repente omnis tristitia invasit; *festinare*, *trepidare* neque loco neque homini cuiquam satis credere; neque bellum gerere neque pacem habere; suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc mulieres, quibus rei publicae magnitudine belli timor insolitus incesserat, *adflictare* sese, manus supplices ad caelum tendere, *miserari* parvos liberos, rogitare *omnia*, omni rumore pavere, adripere *omnia* superbia atque deliciis omissis, sibi patriaeque diffidere.”

Forma qua flagitia disciplinae *pl(ebis)* describuntur:
“Nam semper in civitate, quibus opes nullae sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt, vetera *odere*, *nova* exoptant, odio *suarum* rerum mutari omnia student; turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur, quoniam egestas facile *sine* damno habetur.”

Vale.

ad Anton.Im.2

[101 VdH]

Magistro meo sal(utem).
..... misisti nova arte, sed
disciplinam tes mihique gratissimas Caesaris
quod miles lem a tu es ita pri
..... manus quoque
jucundam adepto *nepotem* saluta.

ad Anton.Im.3

[102 VdH; 2.218 Haines]

Magistro meo.
Oratones desiderat dominus meus frater *vel* a me vel a te quam primum mitti. Sed ego malo, mi magister, tu mittas; easque ut in promptu haberes, exemplaria, quae apud nos erant, misi tibi. Ego mox alia conficiam, quae tibi capies. Hac oratione fratri elaboranda mora intercedar. Ita mihi scripsit.
Vale, mi dulcissime magister. Nepotem saluta.

[102 VdH; 2.220 Haines]

Domino meo.

Pro cetera erga me benivolentia tua fecisti, quod orationum, quas frater tuus dominus noster desideraverat, huic mittendarum me gratias jam inire voluisti. Adjunxi ultro ego tertiam orationem pro Demonstrato Petiliano, de qua illi scripsi: “Adjunxi”, inquam, “orationem pro Demonstrato, quam eum cum primum fratri tuo obtuli, didici ex eo Asclepiodotum, qui oratione ista compelleretur, a te non improbari. Quod ubi primum comperi, curavi equidem abolere orationem, sed jam pervaserat in manus plurium quam, ut abolere possem. *Sed quid fiat postea?* Quid, inquam, fiat nisi et Asclepiodotum, quia ut me tu probasti, mihi quoque fieri amicissimum? Tam hercule quam est Herodes summus nunc meus, quamquam dixi *orationem*.”

Vale, mi domine dulcissime. Dominam et filiolos saluta. Fratri interea orationes mittito in ler duas desa
 . . .

ad Anton.Im.5

[102 VdH]

Domino meo.

Excerpta jam domino nostro fratri tuo misi per dupla monitus ore ante menses fere octo rem ordinetis quae tandem desistam ita ut multis
 epistulam placabilem misit
 nustibus et quo tem diem sed
 priusquam e sudarrio
 notestinanus contu
 prorsus de qua variam nondum
 facultate aliqua insolitis, nisi foristareres pigreis et
 adfuerint.

ad Anton.Im.6

[103 VdH; 2.128 Haines]

Magistro meo sal(utem).

. . . ordo
 eas quas infra

.....
..... consi dus
.... disciplinarum ratum atque expeditum sit, mi
magister, quam tua clemens in officiis adversum te nostris interpretatio. Scribe
igitur domino meo pollicenti tibi multas suas litteras comperisse te ex me,
quae mandavit. Tum cetera adfectionis et comitatis tuae subnecte, mi
magister; nam in litteris tuis, ut aequum est, acquiescit.

Ego biduo isto, nisi quod nocturni somni cepi, nihil intervalli habui;
quamobrem nondum legere epistulam prolixiorum domino meo a te scriptam
potui, sed crastinam opportunitatem avide prospicio. Vale, mi jucundissime
magister. Nepotem saluta.

ad Anton.Im.7

[103 VdH; 2.156 Haines]

Magistro meo sal(utem).

Quom salubritas ruris hujus me delctaret, sentiebam non mediocre illud
mihi deesse, uti de tua quoque bona valetudine certus essem, mi magister. Id
uti suppleas, deos oro. Rusticatio autem nostra mea πολιτεία: Prorsus
negotium illud est veitae togatae. Quid quaeris? Hanc ipsam epistulam
paululum me poregere non sinunt instantes curae, quarum vacatio noctis
demum aliqua parte contingit.

Vale, mi jucundissime magister. Ciceronis epistulas si forte electas totas vel
dimidiatas habes, inerti aut mone quas potissimum legendas mihi censeas ad
facultatem sermonis fovendam.

ad Anton.Im.8

[104 VdH; 2.156 Haines]

Domino meo.

Quinctus hic dies est, quo correptus sum dolore membrorum omnium,
praecipue autem cervicum et inguinum. Memini me excerpisse de Ciceronis
epistulis ea dumtaxat, quibus inesset aliqua de eloquentia vel philosophia vel
de re publica disputatio; praeterea, si quid elegantius aut verbo notabili dictum
videretur, excerpsti. Quae in usu meo ad manum erant excerpta misi tibi. Tres
libros, duos ad Brutum, unum ad Axium describi kubes, si quid rei esse
videbitur, et remittes mihi, nam exemplares eorum excerptorum nullos feci.

Omnes autem Ciceronis epistulas legendas censeo, mea sententia vel magis quam omnis ejus orationes: Epistulis Ciceronis nihil est perfectius.

ad Anton.Im.9

[104 VdH]

Domino meo Fronto.

Quoniam scio quanta sollicitudine *con*verses cum animo tuo quod ad rem frumentariam expediendam adtinet, dabo ihi exploranda diligentius qualia tendunt et quae exploravi

[plures paginae legi nequeunt]

ad Anton.Im.1

[105 VdH; 1.300 Haines]

Magistro meo.

..... plurimas il

..... sal suo

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

..... excerpere potui quondam ex Sallustio paululum ex
Ciceronis oratione, sed quasi furtim, certe quidem raptim: Tantum instat aliud
ex alio curarum, quom interim requies una librum in manus sumere; nam
parvolae nostrae nunc apud Matidiam in oppido hospitantur: Igitur vespera ad
me ventitare non possunt propter aurae rigorem.

Vale, mi domine magister. Dominus meus frater et filiae cum sua matre,
cujus prae nimia laetor cura et per . . avis ex animo tibi salutem
dicunt.

Mitte mihi aliquid, quod tibi disertissimum videatur, quod legam, vel tuum aut Catonis aut Ciceronis aut Sallustii aut Gracchi aut poetae alicujus; $\chi\rho\eta\zeta\omega$ γὰρ ἀναπαύλης, et maxime hoc genus, quae me lectio extollat et diffundat ἐκ τῶν κατελιηφιστῶν φροντίδων; etiam si qua Lucretii aut Enni excerpta habes εὐφρονότατα, ἄδρὰ et sicubi ἦθους ἐμφάσεις.

ad Anton.Im.2

[105 VdH; 1.302 Haines]

Domino meo Antonino Aug(usto) Fronto.

Ne ego post homines natos et locutos omnium facundissimus habear, cum tu, M. Aureli, mea scripta lectitas et probas et lucrativa tua in tantis negotiis tempora meis quoque orationibus legendis occupare non inutile tibi arbitraris nec infructuosum. Quodsive amore inductus etiam ingenio meo delectaris, beatissimus equidem sum, quod tibi tam sum carus, ut esse videar etiam disertus; sive ita censes atque ita iudicio tuo et animi sententia decernis, mihi quoque jam disertus jure videbor, quoniam videar tibi. Quod vero patris tui

laudes a me in senatu designato et inito consulatu meo dictas legisti libenter, minime miror. namque tu Parthos etiam et Hiberos sua lingua patrem tuum laudantis pro summis oratoribus audias, nec meam orationem, sed patris tui virtutem miratus es nec laudatoris verba, sed laudati facta laudasti. De tuis etiam laudibus, quas in senatu eadem illa die protuli, ita sentias velim: Tunc in te eximiam indolem fuisse, nunc summam virtutem; frugem tunc in segete florentem, nunc messim perfectam et horreo conditam; sperabam tunc, habeo nunc: Spes in rem convertit.

Atticis propinque thymus serpyllumque Hymmettium ruminantibus viris.

Vel graves ex orationibus veterum sententias arriperetis vel dulces ex poematis vel ex historia splendidas vel comes ex comedis vel urbanas ex togatis vel ex Atellanis lepidas et facetas.

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Quod autem mitti a me tibi postulasti acceptis <...>

[plurimae paginae desunt]

**EPISTULARUM AD VERUM IMPERATOREM
AURELIUM CAESAREM**

LIBER I

ad Verum Im. I

[107 VdH; 2.116 Haines]

Magistro meo.

<...>rio correctae vel in tempore provisae vel celeriter curatae vel sedulo instructae, praedicare ipsa apud te supersedi. Da verecundiae veniam, si urgentibus curis praepeditus negotia in manibus praeversus sum speque tuae erga me benignissimae facilitatis interim in scribendo cessavi. Fiduciae amoris ignoscito, si piguit consilia me ingularum rerum forsitan in dies mutanda sub incerto adhuc exitu dubia existimatione perscribere.

Causam quaeso tam justae cinctationis accipias. Cur igitur aliis quam tibi saepius? Ut breviter absolvam: Quoniam quidem, nisi ita facerem, illi irascerentur, tu ignosceres; illi tacerent, tu flagitares; illis officium officio repensabam, tibi amorem pro amore debeam. An velles ad te quoque me litteras invitum, querentem, festinantem, quia necesse erat potius quam, quia libebat, darem? “Cur autem”, inquires, “non libebat?” Quia nequedum quicquam ejusmodi effectum erat ut te luberet ad gaudii societatem vocare. Curarum vero, quae me dies noctesque miserrimum habuere et prope ad desperationem summae rei perduxere, facere participem hominem carissimum et quem semper laetum esse cuperem, fateor, non lubebat. Nec enim illud lubebat, aliud dolere, aliud loqui. Simulare Lucium quicquam adversum Frontonem, a quo ego prius multo simplicitatem verumque amorem quam loquendi polite disciplinam didicisse me praedico! Equidem pacto quoque, quod inter nos jam pridem intercessit, satis me ad veniam impetrandam paratum esse arbitror. Denique quamquam mihi lacessitus a me saepius numquam tamen rescripsisses, dolebam hercules, sed pacti memoria non suscensebam.

Postremo, quid plura, ne potius defendere me quam orare te videar? Peccavi, fateor; adversus quem minime decuit, etiam id fateor. Sed ti melior esto. Satis poenarum lui, primum in eo ipso quod peccasse me sentio; mox quod tantis terris disjunctus, qui te in vestigio exorare potuissem, tot interea mensibus, dum meas litteras accipis, dum ego tuas recipio, cura discrucior. Adhibeo tibi deprecatores humanitatem ipsam, nam et delinquere humanum est et hominis maxime proprium ignoscere

ad Verum Im.2

[108 VdH; 2.194 Haines]

Magistro meo.

<...> illi suis litteris subdiderunt. Ea vero, quae post meam profectionem gesta sunt, ex litteris *ad* me scriptis a negotio cuique praepositis ducibus cognosces. Earum exemplaria Sallustius noster, nunc Fulvianus, dabit. Ego vero, ut et consiliorum meorum rationes commemorare possis, meas quoque litteras, quibus quidquid gerendum esset, demonstratur mittam tibi. Quodsi picturas quoque quasdam desideraveris, poteris a Fulviano accipere. Equidem quo magis te quasi in rem praesentem inducerem, mandavi Cassio Avidio Martioque Vero commentarios quosdam mihi facerent, quos tibi mittam; ex quibus et mores hominum et sensum eorum cognosces. Quodsi me quoque voles aliquem commentarium facere, designa mihi; Qualem velis faciam et, ut jubes, faciam. Quidvis enim subire paratus sum, dum a te res nostrae inlustrentur. Plane non contempseris et orationes ad senatum et adlocutiones nostras ad exercitum. Mittam tibi et sermones meos cum barbaris habitos: Multum haec tibi conferent.

Unam rem volo non equidem demonstrare discipulus magistro, sed existimandam dare: Circa causas et initia belli diu commoraberis, et etiam ea, quae nobis absentibus male gesta sunt; tarde ad nostras venies. Porro necessarium puto, quanto ante meum adventum superiores Parthi fuerint dilucere, ut quantum nos egerimus appareat. An igitur debeas, quomodo πεντηκονταετίαν Θουκυδίδης explicuit, illa omnia corripere an vero paulo altius dicere nec tamen ita ut mox nostra dispandere, ipse dispicies.

In summa meae res gestae tantae sunt, quantae sunt scilicet, quouquoimodi sunt: Tantae autem videbuntur, quantas tu eas videri voles.

ad Verum Im.3

[109 VdH; 2.236 Haines]

Domino meo Vero Augusto.

Quamquam me diu cum ista valetudine vivere jam pridem pigeat taedeatque, tamen ubi te tanta gloria per virtutem parta reducem videro, neque in cassum vixero neque invitus, quantum vitae dabitur vivam.

Vale, domine desiderantissime. Socerum et liberos vestros saluta.

ad Verum Im.4

[109 VdH; 2.236 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Quidni ego gaudium tuum mihi repraesentaverim, mi magister carissime?
Equidem videre me et arte complecti et multum exosculari videor mihi toto
<...>

[plures paginae desunt]

ad Verum Im.5

[109 VdH; 2.84 Haines]

Domino meo Vero Augusto.

<...> animi mei perturbatione non possem. Sed acceptis litteris tuis ea re
jam primum bona spes mihi ostentata est, quod tua manu scripseras; deinde
quod post abstinentiam tridui et sanguinem satis strenue et prompte demissum
liberatum esse te periculo inpendentis valetudinis nuntiabis. Respiravi igitur et
revalui et apud omnis foculos, aras, lucos sacros, arbores sacratas (nam rure
agebam) supplicavi. Et nunc expecto cognoscere ex tuis litteris quantum
medici isti dies promoverint ad vires reficiendas. Enimvero nunc majore
multo cura diligentiaque opus est, ut paulatim temet compleas, nec properes
ad detrimenta virium resarcienda. Nam id quidem omnium opinione
compertum et traditum est sanguinem, ubi abundet, incursum detrahendum,
postea pedetemptim esse reparandum. Fac, oro te et obsecro, domine, quod
tuo egregio ingenio decet, temperes et reparcas et modifieris desideriis
omnibus, quae nunc acriora solito et procaciora existere necesse est post
abstinentiam, qua necessario in tempore usus es.

Fratrem dominum saluta, quem salvom habebis, si tute salvus eris. Vale,
domine dulcissime.

ad Verum Im.6

[110 VdH; 2.150 Haines]

Vero Augusto domino meo.

Quanta et quam vetus familiaritas mihi intercedat cum Gavio Claro,
meminisse te, domine, arbitror. Ita saepe de eo apud te ex animi mei sententia

sum fabulatus. Nec ab re esse puto memorem te tamen admonere. A prima aetate sua me curavit Gavius Clarus familiariter non modo iis officiis, quibus senator aetate et loco minor majorem gradu atque natu senatorem probe colit ac promeretur, sed paulatim amicitia nostra eo processit, ut neque illum pigeret neque me puderet ea illum oboedire mihi quae clientes, quae liberti fideles ac laboriosi obsequuntur nulla hoc et mea insolentia aut illius adulatione, sed mutua caritas nostra et amor verus ademit utrique nostrum in officiis moderandis omnem detrectationem. Quid ego memorem negotia in foro nostra minima maximaque ab eo curata? Aut domi quod uspiam recte clausum aut obsignatum aut curatum aut confectum quid vellem, me uni huic mandasse et concredidisse? Sed quod alumnus meus aegre toleraret, valetudine meae curandae ita semper studuit, tantam omni tempore etiam operam dedit, ut excubaret etiam aegro mihi et, ubi meis ego uti manibus per valetudinem non possem, manu sua cibos ad os meum adferret. Postremo, si quid humanitas absente Victorino et domino fratre meo mihi accidisset, huic justa corpori meo curanda mandavi. Praesentibus etiam illis ab hoc potissimum corpus meum contrectari volui, quo minus doloris ad fratrem et generum meum ex contactu ullo corporis mei perveniret.

Haec mihi cum Gavio Claro jura sunt. jam ego, si res familiaris mihi largior esset, ne quid ad senatoris munia facile toleranda deeset, omni ope subvenirem neque umquam ego hujus negotii causa eum trans mare proficisci paterer. Nunc et nostrae res ahud copiosae et hujus paupertas artior me compulerunt, ut eum invitum expellerem in Suriam ad legata, quae ei in testamento hominis amicissimi obvenerunt persequenda. Quae paupertas Claro meo nulla ipsius culpa obtigit, sed neque paterna ulla neque materne bona fruenda percepit: Eaque fine heres patri fuit, ut creditoribus paternis aegre satisfaceret. Ceterum parsimonia et officiis et frugalitate onera quaestoria et aedilicia et praetoria perfunctus est. Cui quidem per absentiam ejus divus pater vester sumptum praeturae de fisco vestro cum expendisset, ubi primum in urbem Clarus reconciliata sibi valetudine rediit, omne fisco vestro persolvit.

Nihil isto homine officiosius est, nihil modestius, nihil verecundius. Liberalis etiam, si quid mihi credis, et in tanta tenuitate, quantum res patitur, largus, simplicitas, castitas, veritas, fides Romana plane, φιλοστοργία vero nescio an Romana: Quippe qui nihil minus in tota mea vita Romae repperi

quam hominem sincere φιλόστοργον; ut putem, quia reapse nemo sit Romae φιλόστοργος, ne nomen quidem huic virtuti esse Romanum.

Hunc tibi, domine, quantis possum precibus commendo, si umquam me amasti sive amaturus umquam es, hunc a me fidei tuae atque opi traditum tuearis peto. Quaeras fortasse, quid pro eo <...>

[plures paginae desunt]

ad Verum Im.7

[111 VdH; 2.238 Haines]

Vero Augusto domino meo.

<...> desideretur is honor, quo pariter quisque expetit, si quid honoris aliis impertitum videat. Probasti me laudastique consilium, neque tamen triduo amplius vel quadriduo id a te obtinere potuisti ut mihi verbo saltem responderes; sed ita excogitasti: Primum me intromitti in cubiculum jubebas, ita sine cujusquam invidia osculum dabas, credo ita quom animo tuo reputans, mihi, cui curam cultumque tradidisses oris atque orationis tuae, jus tui quoque osculi habendum omnisque eloquentiae magistros sui laboris lege fructum capere satus in vocis aditu locat^m. Morem denique saviandi arbitror honori eloquentiae datum. Nam cur os potius salutantes ori admovemus quam oculos oculis aut fontes frontibus aut, quibus plurimum valemus, manus manibus, nisi quod honorem orationi impertimus? Muta denique animalia oratione carentia etiam osculis carent. Hunc ego honorem mihi a te habitam *taxo* maximo et gravissimo pondere.

Plurima praeterea tua erga me summo cum meo honore et dicta et facta percepi sic: Quotiens tu me manibus tuis sustinuisti, adlevasti aegre adsurgentem aut difficile progredientem per valetudinem corporis paene portasti! Quam hilari vultu semper placatoque ore nos adfatus es! Quam libenter conseruisti sermonem, quam diu produxisti, quam invit^s terminasti! Quae ego pro maximis duco. Sicut in extis inspicienti diffissa plerumque minima et tenuissima maximas prosperitates significant deque formicularum et apicularum ostentis res maximae portenduntur, item vel minimis et levissimis ab uno et vero principe habitis officii et bonae volentiae signis significari arbitror ea, quae amplissima inter homines et exoptissima sunt, amores honoresque. Igitur, quaecumque *mihi* a domino meo tuo fratre petenda fuerunt, per te petita atque impetrata omnia malui.

[113 VdH; 2.232 Haines]

Domino Aurelio Vero Augusto.

Fatigatum me valetudine diutina et praeter solitum gravi ac gravissimis etiam luctibus paene continuis adflictum (nam in paucissimis mensibus et uxorem carissimam et nepotem trimulum amisi), sed his plerisque me malis perculsum, relevatum aliquantum fateor quod te meminisse nostri et quaedam nostra desiderasse cognovi. Misi igitur, quae dominus meus frater tuus litteris tuis admonitus mittenda censuit. Adjunxi praeterea orationem pro Demonstrata, quam cum fratri tuo primum obtuli, didici ex eo Asclepiodotum, qui oratione ista compelletur, a te non improbarei. Quod ego ubi comperi, cupivi equidem abolere possem. Quid igitur, *quid* igitur, inquam, probabis? Asclepiodotum, cum a te probetur, mihi quoque fieri amicissimum, tam hercule quam est Herodes summus nunc meus, quamquam extet oratio. Egit praeterea mecum frater tuus inpense id, quod ego multo inpensius adgredi cupio et, ubi primum commentarium miseris, adgrediar ex summis voluntatis opibus; nam de facultate tute videbis, qui me idoneum censuisti.

ad Verum Im.9

[113 VdH; 2.234 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Certo esse te, mi magister carissime, etiamsi reticeam, nihil dubito, quantaque mihi acerbitatis sit tua omnis vel minima tristitia. Enimvero cum et uxorem per tot annos caram et nepotem dulcissimum paene simul amiseris, maximam misericordiam

 pernostique graviora mala quam, ut magistrum doctis dictis consolari audeam. Sed patris est pectus amoris pietatisque plenum effundere .
 opus tristium tempore deliberasti morosus.

Nunc ad reliqua litterarum tuarum convertar: Delectatus oratione velim uti obliti amarae litis istius agatis pacem. Quid putas, mi magister? Irascar, nisi qui a me munus aut novum magistratum et per me accipies major erat si ple sas defendisset leges
 conqueris non vera subdi
 disse certis fidelius, quo nihil aliud ego cogito quicquam aut expeto aut

somnio. Diserta fratris acta et scripta cum ineditis aliis fratris adquisita transmittam <...>

[plures paginae desunt]

ad Verum Im.10

[114 VdH; 1.304 Haines]

Magistro meo.

<...> nostro, Culpurnium dico, contentio est, quem ego facile et omnibus spectantibus et te, si spectaveris, teste revincam, Pyladen magistro suo istum tanto meliorem esse, quanto sit Apolausto similior. Sed quod sine joco dicatur: Jube Valerium istum Antonium dare mihi libellum, uti rescriptione quoque nostra gratia sententiae nostrae fiat.

Epistulam tuam summa cum voluptate et solita cum admiratione legi. Vale, mi magister, Vero tuo dulcissime et carissime.

ad Verum Im.11

[114 VdH; 1.296 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Ah est, quod ego tecum graviter conquerar, mi magister, et quidem uti querellam dolor superet, quod ego tanto post intervallo neque complexus neque adfatus sim, cum et in Palatium veneris, et postquam ego a domino meo fratre vixdum discesseram. Equidem multum fratrem meum objurgavi, cur me non revocavit neque culpam abnuere ausus est. Quantum, oro te, fuit ante mihi significare te ad fratrem meum *venturum* esse, velle me quoque visere, postremo redire me jubere, uti confabularemur? Quid enim? Si me hodie domum arcessas, nonne omnibus omissis lubens curram? Qui quidem aegerrime tulerim, quod non cotidie ad te commeem. Quin gravissimum stationis nostrae id esse arbitrer, quod veniendi ad te adeo rari casus sunt vel desunt. nam si . . . st dies aberis plerumque
. oriatur ad Idus neque convenis . . . dinos non etsi nobis quaecundis perdis tempus prius Romam issem, nisi hominis cujus festiva praesentia causa homini tali separasse retine mihi, oro, esse . . . rescriptus s matrisque paucis permodestis verbis ad te currissem . . . nunc oro saltem, dum discurreis autumnum me praevenias prognosam oro, quid homines autument, quin te rure venis Romam lis expecto te

apud me.

Vale, mi magister, Vero tuo carissime. Cratiam saluta.

ad Verum Im.12

[115 VdH; 1.296 Haines]

Domino meo Vero *Augusto*.

Amore duplici vos amo quam ut vos *illis anteponam*. Tum merebor, *ut vos illos mihi anteponatis*.

Quod heri, cum in Palatium vestri visendi causa venissem, te non viserim, pro!, non de mea culpa evenisse ostendam paulo post. Quodsi libens id, si serio libens scienti animo pote persolverissem, haudquaquam me paenitaret. Fuit enim, fuit tanta haec familiaribus litteris mecum expostulares neque tanto opere gauderem, sei, cum ad te venissem, summo cum honore a te appellatus essem, quam nunc gaudeo tanto me jurgio desideratum. Namque tu pro tua persingulari humanitate omnes magno opere requiris absentes. Haec denique seria causa est, in qua malim te mihi graviter irasci quam libenter ignoscere: Irasceris enim, quando revera desiderantius desiderasti; a quibus autem aversus fueris, neque irasceris neque desiderabis, si amare desieris. Enimvero, cum tu tuusque frater in tantis opibus locati, tanta multitudine omnium generum omniumque ordinum, in quos amorem vestrum dispergitis, circumfusi mihi quoque partem amoris vestri nonnullam impertiatis, quid me facere oportet, cuius spes opesque omnes *in* vobis sunt *solis* sitae? Non etiam tum pectus meum . . . vide valiturus vestra comi dum dominis nobis
. atque quid ea fieri aut libe
. praestare possim quam, uti vos *illis anteponam*. Sic enim profecto merebor, ut vos quoque illos mihi anteponatis.

Sed ne diutius defensionem meam differam, nulla, ut dixi, mea culpa accidit, ut te non convenirem. Nam ex hortis ego redii Romam ante diem quintum Kal(endas) April(es) diluculo, uti bis ipsa illa, si possem, die longo post tempore complecterer. Sed *epistula tua* mihi erat Romam si ita est paulo ante . e . . e . perlata s . . . stas perscriptas alias interim tuas, si, domine, in tanta et tali aetate instat provecta senectute avi natus . . . nisi pax replet adeo nisi *clandestino* peregre pergerem ego procul rusticus: Quidnam ut facerem? “Satin salve” ut percontarer? An ut complecterer? An ut

exoscularer? An ut confabularer? An ego quarto post mense lacrimas vestras spectatum measque ostentatum venire? Quid igitur postero die feci? Non sum ausus neque fratri tuo neuqe tibi scribere me ad vos esse venturum, sed ad libertum vestrum Charilam perscripsi his, si recte memini, verbis: “οἶσθ’ εἰ σήμερον εὐκαιρόν ἐστιν ἀφικέσθαι με πρὸς αὐτούς; σύ μοι δήλωσαν ὥς ἀνὴρ εὖφρων κάμοι φίλος· καὶνὰ ὅς’ ἐπίστελλε.” Hortante eo in Palatium <...>

[quattuor paginae desunt]
<...> destrae pro re nata occup<...> aliud <...>
<...> Mithras . . protegeris
.....
.....
.....
.....

ad Verum Im.13

[117 VdH; 1.306 Haines]

Domino meo Vero Augusto.
.....
.....
.....
.....
..... irat alieni reges
.....
.....
.....
..... percontatum an videre me posset; postquam respondi posse, succidaneum sibi Tranquillum nostrum paravit. Mea parum refert, quis me de caris tibi amicis diligit, nisi quod prior ratio est ejus, qui minus est nostri fastidiosus. Ego amicorum tuorum ejusdem leo sed exiliora facerem omnis, quales ex tempore ego vidi. Praevenit autem me Tranquillus, cum frigeret, etiam nunc devetantem, sed minus aegrum. Qua de causa sollicitudini tuae tantas gratias ago, quantas Transquilli illi industriae, qui nisi sciret, quanto opere me diligeres, voluntarium hoc negotium sibi numquam expetisset.

LIBER II

ad Verum Im

[118 VdH; 2.128 Haines]

Domino meo Vero Aug(usto) sal(utem).

Nulla arap sop o . uis magister nonne
negandi . . . do plurimum postremum pax ecumque.

. proelio t - - - egume anori

Jamjam, imp(erator), esto erga me, ut voles, utque tuus amicus feret: Vel tu me neglegito vel etiam spernito, nihil denique honoris inpertito, in pstremis, si videbitur hebetor: Nihil est ita durum aut ita injurium, quod me facere adversus, si maxime velis, possis, quin ego ex te gaudiis amplissimis abundem. Virtutes tuas bellicas et militaria facinora tua atque consulta me nunc laudare tu forsitan putes. E quibus ego rebus, tametsi sunt pulcherrimae et in rem publicam imperiumque populi Romani optimae amplissimaeque, tam ex iis ego rebus laetandis virilem cum ceteris portionem voluptatis capio. Ex eloquentia autem tua, quam scriptis ad senatum ita litteris declarasti, ego jam hic triumpho. Recepi, recepi habeoque teneoque omnem abs te cumulatam parem gratiam: Possum jam de vita laeto animo excere magno operae meae pretio percepto magnoque monumento ad aeternam gloriam relicto. Magistrum me tuum fuisse aut sciunt omnes homines aut opinantur aut vobis credunt. Quod equidem parcius mihi met ipse adrogarem, nisi vos ultro praedicaretis: *Id quoniam vos praedicatis*, ego nequeo negare. Bellicae igitur tuae laudis et adoriae multos habes administratos multaqu armatorum milia undique gentium accita victoriam tibi adnuntantur et adjuvant, eloquentiae *virtus*, ausim dicere, meo ductu, Caesar, meoque auspicio parta est ta er moenera pl

[duae paginae desunt]

<...> auxilium lo
cum q prima navium ca inrumpe
.

A rhetore *sicut* nunc ego gloriae tuae eloquentia partae
messe[m] majorem carpo *florum*, sapientiae tibi vestigator atque indagator
atque exercitator. Oro te, Luci, An orum aut Dacorum quisquam e
Germanus alior l . . . or quispiam num qui igitur ceteri *cum*

verborum tuorum lumina, cum pondera sententiarem, cum brevitās
sonum denique orationis tuae seriae esc . . d . . o neque fluxibus lascivis
redolentis . . ib . . m . d . ec plerique ut in o . . asie . . tu . . en . .
familiari t s . t sse cubilibus, quibusque vestigiis, unum quid
eorum indgaveris, intellego, ut qui venanti haec tibi adsiduus et obsequens
haeserim.

Inter Remum et Romulum diversis montibus augurantes *volucres* de rerum
summa indicaverunt, ut regnum Persarum per equom aut ejus *hinnitum* se . on
. . t non cursu, sed hinnitu priorem de pe . . m re
puria planeap . . u priori . . n umetria.

Optimam m imperato . . . tribus una plane vita tua est.

-- proelia torum bar -- currum f aque colebrare stat non --

Prima reter . me cuncta dispartita: Bobus fremere
datum, lupis ululare, bellator tuba igitur . . f . . atque . . silubes collegerat.

Laus eloquentiae.

Itaque cum oratione omnes regas, lego atque audio, cumque senatum
p(opuli) R(omani) ad omnes verborum tuorum sententiarumque
clama next de go habes
. s amp ad gloriam mag quam quod a *fratre* . . os fides
imp dentiu. quod fratri et a *didicerimus*
omn gaudium ex *eloquentia* imperio pon. um
imperium. tibus traditum vestra . . st quanto
autem. , cujus sit partis quam dono dat
matis *namque* rio apparetis non parum id, quod eloquenter
paratum est. Plerisque etiam indignis paternus *locus* imperium per manus
detulit, haud secus quam pullis, quibus omnia generis insignia ab ovo jam
insita sunt: Crista et pluma et cantus et vigiliae; regum liberis in utero matris
summa jam potestas destinata est; obstetricis manu imperium adipiscuntur.
Variae sunt eis memoriae: Est *coram populo* . . . non ita populo si itaque . . et
personae sicut initiatos rerum vero Persarum equi arbitrato co . . fit haec non
cursu, sed hinnitu priorem de Romano inter Remum et Romulum ex
diversis montibus augurantes exempla eloquentiam non Romulus . e . .
centuriatis comitiis paratr, non cum aquilae et voltures convolent, non si
Pegasus hinniat insidiis saepe aliorum et conjurationibus ademptum
aliis imperium ad alios delatum scimus, sed neque viventi eloquentia potest

adimi neque morte adempta in alium transferri. Tecum frater tuus juste probat
 ea facta Romuli pl . . . segnes nunquam impetras
 eloquentiam parare, nisi bo

 m n aut decerni
 viris praecensi dividit aut deorum numine ha

 dicere uberius nam . .
 didetaced . . d . d . . ed . . . toreo

 dis are . . . ra . per
 ausrede interdum .
 . . nibus

 lupis ululare, *bellator* tuba re deorum etiam partim
 eloquentes se quam tacitos coli maluerunt

Ope deorum perat

. contumacia ego - - sint - - pervivacibus
 eloquentiae incutiatur. Ne fulmen quidem aequae terreret, nisi cum tonitru
 caderet. Ea ipsa tonandi potestas non Diti patri neque Neptuno neque dis
 ceteris, se imperatori summo Jovi tradita est, ut fragoribus nubium et
 sonoribus procellarum, velut quibusdam caelestibus vocibus, altissimum
 imperium a contemptu vindicaret.

Igitur si verum imperatorem generis humani quaeriti, eloquentia vestra

imperat, eloquentia mentibus dominatur. Ea metum incutit, amorem conciliat, industriam extinguit, virtutem cohortatur, vitia comfutat, mulcet, docet, consolatur. Denique provoco audacter et condictione vetere: Omittite et Armeniam subigite. Alii quoque duces ante vos Armeniam subegerunt, sed una mehercules tua epistula, una tui fratris de te tuisque virtutibus oratio nobilior ad gloriam et ad posteros celebratior erit quam plerique principum triumphi. Ventidius ille, postquam Parthos fudit fugavitque, ad victoriam suam praedicandam orationem a C. Sallustio mutuatus est, et Nerva facta sua in senatu verbis rogaticis commendavit. Item plerique ante parentes vestros propemodum infantes et elingues principes fuerunt, qui de rebus militiae a se gestis nihilo magis loqui possent, quam galeae loquuntur.

Postquam res publica a magistratibus annuis ad C. Caesarem et mox ad Augustum translata est, Caesari quidem facultatem dicendi video imperatoriam fuisse, Augustum vero saeculi residua elegantia et latinae linguae etiam tum integro lepore potius quam dicendi ubertate praeditum puto, post Augustum nonnihil reliquiarum jam et vietarum et tabescentium Tiberio illi superfuisse, imperatores autem deinceps ad Vespasianum usque ejusmodi omnes, ut non minus verborum puderet, quam pigeret morum et misereret facinorum.

Quod quis dicat: “Non enim didicerant”, cur ergo imperabant? Aut imperarent gestu, censeo, ut histriones, aut nutu ut muti, aut per interpretem ut barbari. Quis eorum oratione sua populum aut senatum adfari, quis edictum, quis epistularum suismet verbis componere potuit? Quasi phrenitis morbus quibus implicitus est aliena eloquentes imperitabant: Ut tibiae sine ore alieno mutae erant. imperium autem non potestatis tantummodo vocabulum, sed etiam orationis est. Quippe vos imperandi jubendo vetandoque exercetur: Nisi bene facta laudet, nisi perperam gesta reprehendat, nisi hortetur ad virtutem, nisi a vitiis deterreat, nomen suum deserat et imperator frustra appelletur.

Scilicet de facundiae mulo taceo: Lyrae impar appellatur.

Scilicet de facundiae mulo taceo: Lyrae impar appellatur.

Veteris eloquentiae colorem adumbratum ostendit Hadriana oratio.

.....
.....
..... qui culpam
majoribus partum subdere, nefarium falsam pugnam deferre militare flagitum
est, testimonium falsum dicere interest veras . . . tur facere capital . . .

Exstant epistulae utraque lingua partim ab ipsis ducibus conscriptis, partim a scriptoribus historiarum vel annalium compositae, ut illa Thucydidi nobilissima Niciae ducis epistula ex Scilia missa; item apud C. Sallustium ad Arsacem regem Mithradatis auxilium inplorantis litterae crimosae et Cn. Pompei ad senatum de stipendio litterae graves et Adherbalis apud Cirtam arte obsessi invidiosae litterae; verum omnes, uti res postulat, breves nec ulla rerum gestarum expeditionem continentes. In hunc autem modum, quo scripsisti tu, extant Catuli litterae, quibus res a se jacturis *atque* damnis sane gestas, at lauro merendas *historico exemplo exposuit; verum* turgent elate prolata teneris prope verbis. Historia tamen potius splendide perscribenda; si ad senatum scriberetur, etiam caute. Pater Tullios jubilatus Consiliorum

..... cre

.....

..... pannis tecta praestabit varia locus igitur antelata ad
summam in eloquentia sis . . . illa pervenire, esca sola est et, cum arduae
normae fruges sis uberes adeptus, post maluisti cedere ex re et summittere te . .

.....

..... solum olim, sed in senio falsa putaret issima
consilia . . aemulas esse

.....

..... li illa com . . . etiam disertis ei persilearibus
triumphabis

.....

..... amplissima sunt aspera ad facta ad ista illustria neque frustra,
sed alicujus fide testata memoriae ceteros ars ad sua sponte regit, quia ars
insita me sobrio pusilla exosculor in rostris probatissimus praeclaris verbis
plerumque utor arisque interrogatus ita in orationibus dixeram antea pro me,
postea dicturus aliena eloquentia studiis nitere suscites artem atque inertes per
plures umne dis placo . . que . . . ares ca . . . n . . . cepisse . .
plet palam meminisse denuo, si quis de . . is fere perditus . . testatus. His te
consiliis, imperator, a prima pueritia tua non clipeus profecto nec lorica, sed
libri et litterarum disciplinae inbuebat. Cum multa ejusmodi consiliosa
exempla in historiis et in orationibus lectitares, ad rem militarem magistra
eloquentia usus es.

Exercitus tibi traditus erat luxuria et lascivia et otio diutino corruptus.
Milites Antiochiae adsidue plaudere histrionibus consueti, saepius in nemore
vicinae ganeae quam sub signis habiti. Equi incuria horridi, equites volsi; raro
bracchium aut crus militum hirsutum. Ad hoc vestiti melius quam armati,
adeo ut vir gravis et veteris disciplinae Laelianus Pontius loricas partim eorum
digitis primoribus scinderet, equos pulvillis instratos animadverteret. Jussu
ejus cornicula consecrata, a sedilibus equitum pluma quasi anseribus devolsa.
Pauci militum equum sublimitus insilire, ceteri aegre calce, genu, poplite
reperire. Haud multi vibrantis hastas, pars major sine vi et vigore tamquam

lanceas jacere. Alea in castris frequens, somnus pernox aut in vino vigilia. Hujusmodi milites, quibus imperiis contineris et ad frugem atque industriam converteres, nonne te Hannibalis duritia, Africani disciplina, Metelli exempla historiis perscripta docuerunt? Ipsum hoc tuum a te diutina prudentia consultum, quod non ante signis conlatis manum cum hostibus conseruisti, quam levibus proeliis et minutis victoris militem imbueres, nonne Cato docuit, orator idem et imperator summus? Ipsa subjeci Catonis verba, in quibus consilia tua expressa vestigia cerneres: “Interea unamquamque turmam, manipulum, cohortem temptabam quid facere possent. Proeliis levibus spectabam, cujusmodi quisque esset. Si quis strenue fecerat, donabam honeste, ut alii idem vellent facere, atque in contione verbis multis laudabam. Interea aliquot *pauca* castra feci, sed ubi anni tempus venit, castra hiberna.”

Catonis imaginem de senatu proferri solitam memoriae traditum est. Si ob
militaria facinora, cur non Camilli, cur non lini, cur non Curii
aliorumque? - -

Tres triumphi Africani.

[una pagina legi nequit]

Solitatim . pre . . . adgregare . . .

<...> ne defendere. Atenim ples quia quen . . inbellem idem . le . . non enim . . ui . ibus eadem ingentim. Neque similis virtus deest columbae alis pernicibus praedie . . l niubo . . portendunt . . d . . vultures et aquilae . e nescit modis ut rebus et cum . a . a . isa . . . tisque e . ds . tentis . . r esu ia . . . n . sicut non is . . solitatim eo inis . morem n . . . s . e atversus vod . . . non unus recess . . sermonum acer et bae e ter inter se cohaerent ut cum comitibus aliis artibus penetrarent.

Sed caput atque fons bonarum artium et studiorum ab eloquentiae disciplinis oritur, neque res militaris neque officii observantia, quam philosopham vocant, perfecta gigni potest, nisi cum eloquentia creata sit. Utri earum artium defuerit eloquentia, ea quasi ab . . . el . . . ainsio noscit nam quisquam rectius belli consilia tractaverit, nisi illis adsuetus in orationibus legibus . . . n . . al tuo eae oeis . e . n sagac . . conte clare . . prudentius divideres . . sollertius non omnia quasi persaturam ingentem non extercerem misce sed Nescio enim . . lo

. . . . cm parum perdisceis quomodo orationis in ibi structio t lae
laus s . . s, quia equidem Syriae p vetustis alia fecundis cropla, modo
fata decorare valeat, quae hinc quadamtentus magis minusve depicta sint: Ut
principio ingrediendum, ut post principia ordo explicandus, ubi gravis per
ballistas urguendum, ubi sanis argumentis res redintegranda, ubi gravioribus
comfligendum, ubi immissis habenis eloquentia percursandum, quando
orationi finiendae receptui canendum.

Etiam Viriathus, etiam Spartacus belli scientes et manu prompti fuerunt.
Sed etiam omnes universos quicumque post Romam conditam oratores
extiterunt illos etiam, quos in Oratore Cicero eloquentiae civitate gregatim
donavit, si numerare velis, vix trecentorum numerum complebis, quom ex una
Fabiorum familia trecenti milites fortissimi pro patria dimicantes uno die
occubuerint. Non enim lenis aestimator sum: Milia sub pellibus unum
diem remanserunt diserte themati, si sapias potes immo praem
tecone . . . etiam vium quem tu praem

[duae paginae desunt]

<...> . . . spolia

. et Parthorum prompte et graviter
respondisti. Scilicet hoc te a centurionibus vel primipilaribus, elegantissimis
altercatoribus, didicisse! Dausara et Nicephorium et Artaxa ductu auspicioque
tuo armis capta sunt, sed arcem munitam et invictam et inexpugnabilem, quae
in fratris tui pectore sita est, ad nomen Armeniaci, quod recusaverat,
sumendum, quis alius quam tu aut quibus aliis tu quam eloquentiae copis
adortus es? Comitem tibi ad impetrandum adscisti exercitum, sed loquentem
exercitum oratione pugnans. In ea tu parte litterarum tuarum, ut fratrem
amantem decuit, sentiis magis crebris et dulcibus usus es et verba
modulatus collocasti. Quae cum legerem (in senatu enim per valetudinem
non potui adesse), cum eloquentia tua fratrem tuum urgeri viderem, ita cum
tacitis cogitationibus meis compellabam: "Quid hoc rei est, Antonine? Nam
tibi video nomen quod recusaveras accipiendum esse et de sententia
decedendum. Quid nunc meae, quid philosophorum litterae agunt? Litteris
militis vincimur. Ecquid autem pulchre scripsisse videtur? Numquod verbum
insolens aut intempestivum? Aut num ego tibi videor gloriosum militem
erudisse? Quin, quod votis omnibus expetisti, habes fratrem fortem, virum

bonum dicendi peritum; eadem enim dicit ille quam tu, sed ea minus multis ille quae tu.” Cum maxime haec ego mecum agitabam, quom orationi tuae successit Antonini oratio, di boni, quam pulchra, quam vera, multa! Plane dicta omnia et verba delenifica pietate et fide et amore et desiderio delibuta. Quid facerem inter duos, ambos meos? Petitoremne an, unde peteretur, magis laudarem? Antoninus erat cum imperio obsequens, tu autem, Luci, cum obsequio eras prae amore imperiosus. Eas ego orationes ambas cum dextra laevaue manu mea gestarem, amplior mihi et ornatior videbar daduchis Eleusine faces gestantes et regibus sceptrata tenetibus et quindecimviris libros adeuntibus, deosque patrios ita comprecatus sum: “Hammo Juppiter et *Libyae*”<...>

[sex paginae desunt]

AD M. ANTONINUM DE ELOQUENTIA LIBER

ad Anton. de eloqu. 1

[133 VdH; 2.46 Haines]

Antonino Augusto Fronto.

Sit, quod jubes, rectum fortasse, sed serum: Neque enim omnia quae ratio postulat etiam aetas tolerat

An tu cycnum coges in ultima cantione cornicum voculas aemulari?

<...> ingenio discrepanti. Juberessne me niti contra naturam adverso, quod ajunt, flumine? Quid, si quis postularet, ut Phidias ludicra aut Canachus deum *simulacra* fingerent aut Calamis ut Tyrrhena aut Polycletus Etrusca? Quid si Parrhasium versicolora pingere juberet aut Apellen unicolora aut Nealcen magnifica aut Protogenen minuta aut Nician obscura aut Dionysium inlustria aut lascivia Euphranorem aut Pausiam a? In poetis *autem* quis ignorat, ut gracilis sit Lucilius, Albucius aridus, sublimis Lucretius, medicoris Pacuvius, inaequalis Accius, Ennius multiformis? Historiam quoque scripsere Sallustius structe, Pictor incondite, Claudius lepide, Antias invenuste, Seisenna longinque, verbis Cato multijugis, Coelius singulis. Contionatur autem Cato infeste, Gracchus turbulente, Tullius gloriose; jam in judiciis saevit idem Cato, triumphat Cicero, tumultuantur Gracchus, Calvus rixatur.

Sed haec exempla fortasse contemnas? Quid? Philosophi ipsi nonne diverso genere orationis usi sunt? Zeno ad docendum planissimus, Socrates ad coarguendum captiosissimus, Diogenes ad exprobandum promptissimus, Heraclitus obscurus: involvere omnia, Pythagora mirificus: clandestinis signis sancire omnia, Clitomachus anceps: in dubium vocare omnia. Quidnam igitur agerent isti ipsi sapientissimi viri, si de suo quisque more atque instituto deducerentur? Socrates ne coargueret, Zeno ne disceptaret, Diogenes ne increparet, ne quid Pythagoras sanciret, ne quid Heraclitus absconderet, ne quid Clitomachus ambigeret?

Sed ne in prima ista parte diutius, quam epistulae modus postulat, commoremur, tempus de verbis primum, quid censeas, considerare. Dic sodes hoc mihi: Utrumne, temetsi sine ullo labore ac studio meo verba mihi elegantiora ultro occurrerent, spernenda censes ac repudianda an cum labore quidem et studio investigare verba elegantia prohibes, eadem vero, si ultro, si

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..... ne pallium quidem sordibus obsitum candido et pure lauto praetulisset.
Nisi forte eum tu arbitrare claudum quoque consulto factum et servum
consulto natum. Quid igitur est? Tam facile ille <...>

<...> *verborum loca*, gradus pondera aetates dignitatesque dinoscere, ne in oratione praepostere, ut in temulento ac perturbato convivio, conlocentur; quae ratio sit verba geminandi et interdum trigeminandi, nonnumquam quadriplacia, saepe quinquies aut eo amplius superlata ponendi, ne frustra neve temere verborum strues acerventur, sed ut certo ac sollertei termino uniantur. Post ista omnia investigata, examinata, distincta, finita, cognita verborum omnium, ut ita dixerim, populo, sicut in bello, ubi opus est legionem conscribere, non tantum voluntarios legimus, sed etiam latentis militari aetate conquirimus, ita ubi verborum praesidiis opus sit, non

voluntariis tantum, quae ultro obvenerint, utemur, sed latentia eliciemus atque ad imperandum indigabimus. Hic illud etiam, ut ego arbitrator, scite a nobis conventum, quibus rationibus verba quaerantur, ut non hiantes oscitantesque exspectemus, quando verbum ultro in linguam quasi Palladium de caelo depluat, sed ut regiones verborum et saltus noverimus ut, ubi quaesitis opus sit, ut per viam potius ad vestigandum quam invio progrediamur.

Certa igitur loca sunt a nobis <...>

Inprimis oratori cavendum, ne quod novum verbum ut aes adulterinum percutiat, ut unum et id verbum vetustate noscatur et novitate delectet.

— castella verborum — *respuerit* conciliabula verborum.

Officiorum genera duo, rationes tripertitae. Prima species substantiae, ut sit; altera qualitatis, ut talis sit; tertia rei, ut *rem ipsam*, cujus causa superiora officia suscipit, expleat.

[duae paginae legi nequeunt]

[illegible]

... ces, i nisi vixeris.

Quid igitur istic admonendus es ne tunc . . . c nvio hoc d is . ene .
. . prandio et mensa situm existimes? Non est sapientiae negotium vesci, sed
sine vita, qua sine nulla sapientia, studia nulla si possunt *esse, jam* nunc
. vides igitur officia et tum a . ua
. *sapientia*
. non sunt, qui at non aequae
sequentia officia, quae sunt qualitati cujusque accommodata, possunt omnium
esse communia: Aliud prandium gubernatori commune et aliud pugili de
integris tegoribus; aliud prandendi tempus alia lavatio, alius somnus, alia
pervigilatio.

Considera igitur, an in hac secunda ratione officiorum contineatur
eloquentiae studium. Nam Caesarum est in senatu quae e re sunt suadere,
populum de plerisque negotiis in contione appellare, jus injustum corrigere,
per orbem litteras missitare, reges exterarum gentium compellere, sociorum
culpas edictis coercere, bene facta laudare, seditiosos compescere, feroces
territare. Omnia ista profecto verbis sunt ac litteris agenda. Non excoles igitur
id, quod tibi totiens tantisque in rebus videas magno usui futurum? An nihil
referre arbitraris qualibus verbis agas, quae non nisi verbis agi possunt? Erras,
si putas pari auctoritate in senatu fore Thersitae verbis expromptam
sententiam et Menelai aut Ulixi orationem, quorum Homerus et voltus in
agendo et habitus et status et voces *canoras* ac modulationem eloquentiae
genera diversa nondum <...>

Quae res auctoritatem principum minuat.

Quisquam vereri potest quam inridet? Quisquam dicto oboediret, cujus
verba contemserit?

Cum in officina Appellis Alexander Magnus de picturae arte dissereret:
“Tace quae nescis”, inquit, “ne te pueri illi qui purpurissimum subterunt
contemnant”.

Nemo tanta auctoritate est ut non, ubi peritia deficitur, ab eo, qui peritior,
est despiciatur.

Superbiae *notae* medebor, ne contemnar.

Tibi tanta eloquentia parta est, quae ad laudem etiam supersit.

Comis es ex assidua dote eloquentiae. Capillus etsi non cottidie acu
ornandus, tamen pectine cottidie expediendus est.

Enarrare enim priore, sed non earum indifferens pletis usuras Croesum et Solonem, periandrum et Polycraten, Alcibiaden denique et Socraten.

[duae paginae legi nequeunt]

<...> fuisse Croesum et Solonem, Periandrum et Polycraten, Alcibiaden denique et Socraten. Quis dubitat sapientem ab insipiente vel praecipue consilio et dilectu rerum et opinione discerni et, si sit optio atque electio divitiarum atque egestatus, quamquam utraque et malitia et virtute careant, tamen electionem laude et culpa non carere? Proprium namque sapientis officium est recte eligere neque perperam vel postponere vel anteferre.

Si me interroges concupiscamne bonam valetudinem, abnuam equidem, si sim philosophus: Nihil est enim fas concupiscere sapienti aut adpetere, quod fors fuat, an frustra concupiscat; nec quicquam, quod in manu Fortunae situm videat, concupiscet. Tamen si necessario sit altera res eligenda, Achillei potius pernicitatem eligam quam debilitatem Philoctetae. Simile igitur in eloquentia servandum: Non opere nimio concupiscas igitur nec opere nimio aversere; tum si eligendum sit, longe longeque eloquentiam infantiae praeferas.

Audivi te nonnumquam ita dicentem: “Atenim cum aliquid pulchrius elocutus sum placeo mihi ideoque eloquentiam fugio.” Quin tu potius illud corrigis ac mederis ne places tibi, non ut id propter quod places repudies? Nam ut nunc facis, alibi tu medicamenta obligas. Quid tandem? Si tibi placebis tibi pio aliquo cultu parentis, pietatem spernabere? Places tibi cum facundus? Igitur verbera te; quid facundiam verberas? Tametsi Plato ita diceret itaque te compellaret: “O juvenis, periculosa est tibi praepropera placendi fuga: Novissimum namque homini sapientiam colenti amiculum est gloriae cupido; id novissimum exiit.” Ipsi, ipsi, inquam, Platoni in novissimum usque vitae finem gloria amiculum erit.

Illud etiam audisse me memini pleraque sapientes viros in placitis mentis atque consultis habere debere quorum intedum usu abstineant, itemque interdum nonnulla in usu habere debere quae dogmatis improbent neque ubique rationem sapientiae rectam et usum vitae necessarium congruere.

Fac te, Caesar, ad sapientiam Cleanthis aut Zenonis posse pertingere, ingratiis tamen sibi purpureum pallium erit sumendum, non pallium philosophorum soloci lana. Purpureo <...>

Cleanthes aqua de puteo extrahenda victum quaerebat; tibi saepenumero

curandum in theatro crocum longe adque alte exprimatur.

Diogenes cynicus non modo nullam pecuniam quaesivit, sed etiam propriam neglexit.

Ira — oque orula es inlustra a atque adde uda queatis porrigere pro mea mente et parte morsipergira ambulat.

— familia tua *ipsa* invasit *familiaribus* usa tu quoque Socrate ex acuto sapientior peccandi l ira.

. da a . studia volgus saccoduli deus det, ut orbem terrae, quem vocalem accepisti, mutum reddatis.

[una pagina legi nequit]

<...> *ne di* immortales seirint comitium et rostra et tribunalia Catonis et Gracchi et Ciceronis orationibus celebrata hoc potissimum saeculo contisciscere, orbem terrae, quem vocalem acceperis, mutum a te fieri. Si linguam quis uni homini exsecet, inmanis habeatur. Eloquentiam humano generi exsicari mediocre facinus putas? Non hunc adnumeras Tereo aut Lycurgo? Qui Lycurgus quid tandem mali facinoris admisit, quam vites amputavit? Multis profecto gentibus ac nationibus profuisset vinum undique gentium exterminatum! Tamen Lycurgus poenas caesarum vitium luit. Quare metuendam censeo divinitus poenam eloquentiae exterminatae. Nam vinea in unius tutela dei sita, eloquentiam vero multi in caelo diligunt: Minerva orationis magistra, Mercurius nuntiis praeditus, Apollo paeantum auctor, Liber dithyramborum cognitor, Fauni vaticinantium incitatores, magistra Homeri Calliopa, magister Enni Homerus et Somnus.

Tum si studium philosophiae in rebus esset solis occupatum, minus mirarer, quod tanto opere verba contemneres. Discere te autem ceratinas et soritas et pseudomenus, verba contorta et fidicularia, negligere vero cultum orationis et gravitatem et maiestatem et gratiam et nitorem, hoc indicat loqui te quam eloqui malle, murmurare potius et friguttire quam clangere. Diodori tu et Alexini verba verbis Platonis et Xenophontis et Antisthenis anteponis, ut si quis histrionae studiosus Tasurci gestu potius quam Roscii uteretur, ut si in natando, si aequae liceret, ranam potius quam delphinos aemulari mallet, coturnicum potius pinnis breviculis quam aquilarum maiestate volitare!

Ubi illud acumen tuum? Ubi subtilitas? Evigila et atende, quid cupiat ipse Chrysippus? Non est contentus, verum auget, in quantum potest, exaggerat, praemunit, iterat, differt, recurrit, interrogat, describit, dividit, personas fingit,

orationem suam alii accommodat: ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν αὔξειν, διασκευάζειν, ἐξεργάζεσθαι, πάλιν λέγειν, ἐπαναφέρειν, παράπτειν, προσωποποιεῖν. Videsne ab eo paene omnia oratorum arma tractari? Igitur, si ipse Chrysippus his utendum esse ostendit, quid ego amplius postulo nisi, ut ne verbis dialecticorum, sed potius Platonis *utaris*: Gladio dimicandum esse convenit, verum utrum dimices gladio robiginoso an splendido interest.

Cum bona dignius em aemulata Epictetum c per locos sub *platanis* sedentem loqui mpo m som la placebat *Epicur* . . . diss . . m

Si ausus esset epitaphium Marathonium aut Salaminium dicere, nec lucem illam loci nec rei magnitudinem pertulisset.

Eoneri . s finis . . aphiodieul aut vetari aliter insu . . ino Epicteto m ineampu aliter intentius quam sedenti sub umbra platani.

Quare est den . ce ais . . agrais s . . excepto versus composuisse
 augere, sed id ni caute .

 no
 ne c . . . omne n
 ins ini
 am u . . . es et ad ni
 alienas ra eam
 nr

Tragicus Aesopus fertur non prius ullam suo induisse capiti personam, antequam diu ex adverso contemplareretur, pro personae vultu gestum sibi capessere ac vocem.

Quos jugata, tu de fulmine disputas.

Anaxagorae, non Alexini sicophantae auditor.

An majorem tragoediam putas Amphiaraum scribere quam de terrae hiatu dicere?

kisi non quam nionis potes s
Aesopus
. *Pericles* Anaxagorae *physici*, non *Alexini* sycophantae auditor
.
. convocatus
.
. agenda .
. es
stillicidiis

. putas quos o scribere,
quamquam ans sa con sco dialecticorum verbis scribat,
suspirantem, tussientem immo Jovem scripserit, non tonantem. Para potius
orationem dignam sensibus, quos e philosophia hauries, et quanto honestius
sentis tanto augustius dicas.

Sermones gibberosos retortos

Quin erige te et extolle et tortores istos, qui te ut abietem et alnum
proceram incurvant et ad chamaetorta detrahunt, valido cacumine tuo excute
et tempta an usquam ab *dignitate* discesseris. Sed comitem philosophiae
.
.
. has si tenueris, contempnas; quom contempseris, nescias.
Dic, obsecro, mihi: De dialecticis istis ecquid tenes? Ecquid tenere te gaudes?
Nolo mihi dicas: Apud te ipse reputa. Ego illud praedico, quom plurimos
amicos in hac disciplina tenuerim <...>

[duae paginae periisse videntur]

Consiliario huic magis aetati opus est quam auxiliario

.....

 rediro . . pudore studiorum tuorum comite exordiorum
 consilia paxosci ne quen
 acci accolta
 contra sosu neque in tui ages . . .
 inops est ipsum pectus concessi n experta . . .
 adipisci in hanc te agel deest lu mutilum perficere,
 hiulcum fartis jugare e gentat set qui meum in
 nonne omnis oratorum copias sectabere: refutandi sollertiam, augendi
 facultatem, eludendi venustatem, permovendi delectandique, deterrendi
 incitandique, ornandi, conciliandi, infamandi, laxandi audientium animos aut
 alliciendi rectam quandam in dicendo potentiam ac potestatem?

Tum si quando tibi negotiis disticto perpetuae orationis conscribundae
 tempus deesset, nonne te tumultuaris quibusdam et lucrativis studiorum
 solaciis fulciebas, synonymis colligendis, verbis interdum singularibus
 requirendis, ut veterum commata, ut cola synonymorum ratione converteres,
 ut de vulgaribus elegantia, de contaminateis nova redderes, imaginem aliquam
 accommodares, figuram iniceres, prisco verbo adornares, colorem vetusculum
 adpingeres? Haec si propterea contemnis, quia didicisti, philosophiam quoque
 discendo contemnes.

Sed non ea sunt ista, quae possis contemnere; possis sane non amare, ut
 olim Crassus tristis risum oderat, ut nostra hic memoria Crassus lucem
 fugitabat, ut nostra itidem memoria vir consularis campos formidabat,
 Pomptinum campum <...>

[octo paginae desunt]

ad Anton. de eloqu. 3

[146 VdH; 2.70 Haines]

Antonino Augusto Fronto.

<...> tralata tum notione dic . . res ita impulerit . . . proverbialia tralata . . .
 vincas inesse. Testitra aterrid monere te

..... versum es duis utetur coni
 ent alterum proprium, ‘comes’, alterum translatum,
 ‘opifex’ neque ulla verbis istis inter se communio inest neque propinquitas.
 Offendit igitur aures et ingruens diversitatem suam notat sti sapere quid est
 dictum sapere aure . . . trum more dicta
 atenem r . . Sallustius *ait*: “Quinque manu, ventre, pene bona patria
 laceraverat.” Vides quantum similitudine verborum formae adsecutus sit ut
 postremum verbum, quamquam parum pudicum, non indecorum esse
 videatur, ideo scilicet quod haec verba similia praecedant. Quodsi ita haec
 verba contra dixisset: “Quique pene, manu, ventre bona patria laceraverat”,
 inaudita obscenitas hic appareret excusare ssiros . duisesethat
 quibus tertio que duobus his verbis manu ventre adposita
 . . . aures tertioque

[una pagina legi nequit et duae paginae desunt]

<...> nullius ante nisi unius Gaji Sallusti trita solo, sensum dictu
 periculosum et paene obstetricium pulcherrimo cultu et honestissimo ornatu
 protulisti. εὐφρανας, ὑπερεὐφρανας, σῶζέό μοι.

Quod librari manu epistula scripta est, a labore gravi digitis consului, quei
 sunt jam in suspicione.

ad Anton. de eloqu. 4

[146 VdH; 2.72 Haines]

Antonino Aug(usto) Fronto.

Quid si quis scrutetur qua sollertia et quibus raionibus . . . Vestales virgines
captae sint? Propterea neque balbam virginem capi neque sirbenam *fas*
 est r . mn t nisi tal cubi omnis . . . mnevis quis
 neutalenisandes verba ins . lum . . . us balbuttientium vox his ferme verbis
 significatur: Vox impedita, vox vincta, vox difficilis, vox *trunca*, vox
 imperfecta, vox absona. His contraria quaerenti tibi subvenisse certum habeo:
 Vox *eximia*, vox absoluta, vox facilis, vox integra, vox lenis. Tua vox amabilis
 tum lenis tale . erd ull . uac . . b non . . nern a . .
 i et potest dic, Antonine, his omnibus . . . i . . . liiseno . . . m s . m
 sirabaennd . lauuim, quibus vocabulis appellentur sirbeni, percensio sit.

[una pagina legi nequit]

At vocis modulatae amatores primas audisse feruntur vernas aves luco

opaco concinentes. Visa sunt perdulcia audiri avium murmura: Prosus uti
disce proded aud plures nollent affecti. Post pastores suis
modulati recens repertis fistulis se atque pecus oblectabant: Visae fistulae
longe avibus modulatorioes.

Videbaris mihi ridenter declarare, quae verius proclamat ita Plautus: “E . . .
bt . . . turis liquidioribus sane implere s . l isa ubi . . . nesi . .
. . . . “ Sed ea insidi necessaria peteret . . suastanob
quam antea, perita cura signum inceptui canere i . i . l . m crapula
affecti amatores vi . ae . . . n d . . ia sunt perfecti aut faventes pro
e fabellis ut docerent via inde . . . neomicel ros alti
. . . . nto usi ora . . . post . . . setu det au . relictis atmqu . . ere fore . .
rent fa . e aures nausiant . . uli intima m suabest a . . ita ad lubitos
aut *funalia* alliciat

Item pleraque sic explicasse oratione Sallustium ais et hoc exemplo usus: “Multi murmurantium voculis in luco in luco eloquentiae oblectantur”. Ennium deinde et Accium et Lucretium ampliore jam mugitu personantis tamen tolerant. At ubi Catonis et Sallustii et Tulli tuba exaudita est, trepidant et pavent et fugam frustra meditantur. Nam illic quoque in philosophiae disciplinis, ubi tutum sibi perfugium outant, *Platonis ἱδία ῥήματα* erunt audienda. Haec in eos fabula competit, qui nulla indole praediti eloquentiam desperantes fugitant. Tibi, Caesar, ut cui maxime, sublime et excelsum et amplificum ingenium ab dis datum est; nam primi tui sensus et incunabula studiorum tuorum mihi cognita sunt. Elucebat jam tunc nobilitas mentis et dignitas sententiarum quibus sola fere deerant verborum lumina; ea quoque variis exercitationibus instruebamus. Ibi tu mihi videre mora temporali et laboris taedio defessus eloquentiae studium reliquisse, ad philosophiam devertisse, ubi nullum prohoemium cum cura excolendum, nulla narratio breviter et dilucide et callide collocanda, nullae quaestiones partiendae, nulla argumenta quaerenda, nihil exaggerandum aut ambiguendum; vere adhuc rectissimum est.

An tibi sae a tu sapiens inter de rebus saepe videtur . se
supersit tamen si dixisses nonnumquam de mosstos . . e . . ne . . . satis
consuluisses m iste sine aquis supra aut in dicto quid
gt . . sid dum providet rent . . . modum.

Verum etiam saepe vir sapiens sicut pater *tuus* nescit elegato plane modo,

sed si ita res tilerunt, ut de puteo quoque puteus istic minus sorderet . . .
. . . s, si ita res tulit recte est ver suum
mihi v . . . udis rent ne sub sententia quae adest . . bse id
. n sub se so r p .
. . ei erb et ae tu ser
. tium .
. ob
. ingenio autem
. sententias
inopinatas aliis exin partas. Tanto majus periculum sententieis inest, nisi
figurationibus moderatis temperantur. Graecis verbis fortasse apertius
significabo: τὰ καινὰ παράδοξα τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων εἰδωλα εἰς αὐτὰ πλάσματα
. περὶ πιθανὰ λέγειν ποιιδετοιεῖ ποτανασιν τι ἀκ ἄλλων χαι
. non τὰ ἡκ . ι φοτι και φ πευπτεσυηρ hoc ego anima
. . eanna nullis orationibus suis subvenisse liber et sua deo esse et copias misti
ad aetates ut rarus; scias igitur in hoc uno eximiam eloquentiam tuam
claudere.

Moneo igitur Marcum meum etiam atque etiam et, ut meminerit, obsecro:
Quotiescumque ἀδοξότερον ἐνθύμημα animo conceperis, volvas illud tumet,
diversis et variis figurationibus verses temperesque et verbis splendidis
excolas, Nam quae nova et inopinata audientibus sunt, periculum est, nisi
ornentur et figurentur, ne videantur absurda.

Cetera omnia tibi in eloquentia expolita et explorata sunt: Scis verba
quaerere, scis reperta recte collocare, scis colorem sincerem vetustatis
appingere; sententiis autem gravissimis abundas <...>

[quattuor paginae desunt]

<...> *prima* conditio est; ubi semel patefactae sunt, facile cognitae
negleguntur. Contemni denique et nullo honore esse rhetora videas; observari
autem et omnibus officiis coli dialecticos, quod in eorum rationibus semper
obscuri aliquid et tortuosi *sit*, eoque fit, ut magistro discipulus haereat semper
et inserviat, vinctus perpetuis quibusdam vinculeis attineatur.

Dicet aliquis: “Tu igitur praeter ceteros nimirum verbis pulchris et
insignibus uteris?” Ego immo vulgaribus et obsoletis. Quid igitur est? Nisi
istud saltem scirem, deterioribus uterer.

Antonino Aug(usto) Fronto.

Pleraque in oratione recenti tua, quod ad sententias attinet, animadverto egregia esse; pauca admodum uno tenus verbo corrigenda; nonnihil interdum elocutione novella parum signatum. Quae melius visum est particulatim scribere: Ita enim facilius perpendes singula et satis temporis ad inspiciendum habebis, ut qui plurimis negotiis aut agendis occupatus sis aut actis defessus.

Igitur in prohoemio quae egregie a te dicta putem quaeque arbitrer corrigenda scripsi tibi. Scripturum deinceps pro amore in te meo confide cetera. Prima ergo pars tota mirifica est, multis et gravibus sententis referta, in quibus eximiae sunt ubi sunt imios si recte t . . d
. a s . . .
judicamus.

Quid . . omnium r pravis et *malis*
sed
. a nullis
. et cenda
quo genere Cato ubi o . . ed si *dissertes* domi primis . . .
. et hoc genere id *eximiae* esse . am . . de . .
. e st moderatae et
nonnullo esse si parce et cum dignitate
ad multo deinde gravior
et severior subjuncta <...> si nihil <...> nobis opinionis <...> διασκευῇ et
παρεκβάσει carendum.

Nunc ego consulto in fabulis finem facio, ut, si qua acrius dicta sunt, permixta fabulis molliantur

Enimvero ad philosophos librum legas; magistro interpretanti tacitus attendas; intellexisse adnuas; aliis legentibus ipse plerumque dormites; audias τὶ τὸ πρῶτον; τὶ τὸ δεύτερον; Diu multumque numerari; εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστίν, φῶς ἐστὶ fenestris patentibus laborari. Securus inde abeas, cui nihil per noctem meditandum aut conscribendum, nihil magistro recitandum, nihil pronuntiandum, nulla *verbi* indagatio, nullus synonymi ornatus, nihil de Graeco in nostram linguam pariter *convertendum*. In eos quoque magister Dionysium Tenuis arte compositam fabulam protulit de disceptatione vitis et arboris ilicis: Vitis se ante ilicem ferebat, quod suavissimum fructum hominum convivieis et Osiris altaribus crearet: Idem dulce esu, idem haustu

jucundum. Tum se majore cura quam Cleopatram reginam ornari, comptius quam Laidem formosam. Pampinos suos ita pulchros esse ut necterentur ex eis Libero thyrsi, corona Sileno, Nymphis Bacchisque redimicula. Ilicem esse horridam, infructuosam, inamabilem; creare boni aut amoeni numquam quicquam praeter glandem; suis

. di, ego autem nunc odolexasco baca . . .
. conlecerata, item vos qua eloquentia

AD M. ANTONINUM DE ORATIONIBUS LIBER

ad Anton. de orat.

[153 VdH; 2.100 Haines]

Antonino Augusto Fronto.

<...> pauca subnectam, fortasse inepta, iniqua, nam rusus faxo magistrum me experiare. Neque ignoras omnem hanc magistrorum *manum* vanam propemodum et stolidam esse: Parum eloquentiae *et* sapientiae nihil. Feres profecto bona venia veterem potestatem et nomen magistri me usurpantem denuo. Fateor enim, quod res est, unam solam posse causam incidere, qua causa claudat aliquantum amor erga te meus: Si eloquentiam neglegas. Neglegas tamen vero potius censeo, quam prave excolas. Confusam eam ego eloquentiam catachannae ritu partim pineis nucibus Catonis, partim Senecae mollibus et febriculosus prunuleis insitam subvertendam censeo radicitus, immo vero Plautino *et* rato verbo ‘extradicitus’. Neque ignoro copiosum sententiis et redundantem hominem esse, verum sententias ejus tolutares video nusquam quadripedo concito cursu tenere, nusquam pugnare, nusquam majestatem studere *et*, ut Laberius ait, ‘dictabolaria’, immo dicteria potius eum quam dicta confingere.

Itane existimas graviore sententia et eadem e re apud Annaeum istum repturum te quam apud Sergium? “Sed non modulatas aequae.” Fateor. ‘Neque ita cordaces.’ Ita est. ‘Neque ita tinnulas.’ Non nego. Quid vero, si prandium idem utriusque apponatur, adpositas oleas alter digitis prenda, ad os adferat, ut manducandi jus fasque est, ita dentibus subiciat, alter autem oleas suas in altum jaciatur, ore aperto excipiat, exceptas ut calculos praestrigiator primoribus labris ostendet? Ea re profecto pueri laudent et convivae delectentur, sed alter pudice pranderit, alter labellis gesticulatus erit. “Atenim sunt quaedam in libris ejus scite dicta, graviter quoque nonnulla.” Etiam laminae interdum argentiolae in cloacis inveniuntur: Eane re cloacas purgandas redimemus?

Primum illud in isto genere dicendi vitium turpissimum, quod eandem sententiam milliis alio atque alio amictu indutam referunt. Ut histriones, quom palliolatim saltant, caudam cycni, capillum Veneris, Furiae flagellum, eodem pallio demonstrant, ita isti unam eandemque sententiam multimodis faciunt: Ventilant, commutant, convertunt, eadem lacinia saltitant, refricant

eandem unam sententiam saepius quam puellae olfactaria sucina.

Dicendum est de fortuna aliquid: Omnis ibi Fortunas Antiatis, Praenestinas, respicientis, balnearum etiam Fortunas omnis cum pennis, cum roteis, cum gubernaculis reperias.

Unum exempli causa poetae prohoemium commemorabo, poetae ejusdem temporis ejusdemque nominis: Fuit aequae Annaeus. Is initio carminis sui septem primis versibus nihil aliud quam “bella plus quam civilia” interpretatus est. Nunc hoc replicet quot sententiis? “Jusque datum sceleri” una sententia est. “In sua victrici conversum viscera”, jam haec altera est. “Cognatasque acies”, tertia haec erit. “In commune nefas” quartam numerat. “Infestisque obvia signa” *cumulat* quoque quintam. “Signis pares aquilas”, sexta haec Herculis aerumna. “Et pila minantia pilis” septimum de Ajacis scuto corium. Annaee, quis finis erit? Aut si nullus finis nec modus servandus est, cur non addis “et similes lituos”? Addas licet “et carmina nota tubarum”. Sed et loricas et conos et enses et balteos et omnem armorum suppellectilem sequere.

Apollonius autem - non enim Homeri prohoemiorum par *artificium* est - Apollonius, inquam, qui Argonautas scripsit, quinque rerum capita *prohoemio* et *imploratione* quattuor versibus narrat: “*παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν*”, viros qui navigassent; “*οἱ Πόντοιο διὰ στόμα*”, iter quo navigassent; “*βασιλῆος ἐφημοσύνη Πελῖας*”, cujus imperio navigassent; “*χρύσειον μετὰ κῶας*”, cui rei navigassent; “*ἐύζυγον ἦλσαν Ἀργῶ*”, navem, qua vecti essent. Isti autem tam oratores quam poetae consimile faciunt, ut quae citharoedi solent: Unam aliquam vocalem litteram de Inone vel de Aedone multis et variis accentibus *cantare*.

Quid ego verborum sordes et illuvies? Quid verba *modulate collocata* et *effeminate fluentia*? Ubi . . . , ubi *ticpioaoc* . . celsa ero et *spencu* aversantes a *nnare* hoc eloquentiae genus clipeo te Achillis in orationibus *certare* oportet, non parmulam ventilare neque hastulis histrionis ludere. Aquae de sipunculis concinnius saliant quam de imbris rem laudant qui ind quis istorum quaeritur . . . ni pondere in om delicias orationis apud m d de ai . em s . n devesiru tu hic locus oculos mir p bodea ‘Oculos convenientes’ dixisti. Quis clamor iteratur! Apparuit enim utrumque verbum quaesitum et

inventum. Quod ubi verbum investigaveras, pulchre uti sciebas. Impedita voce dicuntur, qui balbutiunt, et contrarium est soluta et expedita voce; multo melius apparuit ‘enodata’. Quaesisse te arbitror ex eodem isto loco, quod est ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου: Cum imperfecta vox balbutientium sit, potuisse dici ‘perfectam’ quia ignorabas verb . t cul eadem in oratione ‘oculos convenientes’ dixisti . . strabis *inprimis* inprobatur hic locus, a multiplici significatione est quem Theodorus ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλαχῶς λέγεσθαι appellat: Nam ‘convenire’ et ‘decere’ et ‘aptum esse’ et ‘congruere’ est, quod Graeci ἡρμόσθαι appellant. Non dubito alia item *te* verba percensuisse, nam straboni oculi dispares sunt: Potuisses pares aut impares dicere; disconcinnos illos, hos concinnos dici potuisse; ‘convenientes’ multo melius.

Dicas fortasse: ‘Quid in orationibus meis novicium, quid crispulum, quid fuscum, quid purpurisso litum aut *tumidum aut* pollutum?’ Nondum quicquam, sed vereor eas promo etiam lunam unt.

Laudo censoris factum, qui luos talarios prohibuit, quod semet ipsum diceret, cum ea praeteriret, difficile dignitati servire, quin ad modum crotali aut cymbali pedem poneret. Tum praeterea numta sunt in isto genere dicendi sinceris similia, nisi quis diligenter examinat: “Jurisque datum sceleri eo”, M. Annaeus ait; contra Sallustius: “Omne jus in validioribus esse”. Gallicanus quidam declamator, cum Macedones delibarent Alexandro morbo mortuo an et Babylonem perverterent: “Quid si operas *conducitis* hyaenas?” inquit. *Iste* et superbe: “Factum est” (eodem hoc verbo Enni) “vobis, Quirites”, exclamavit, “factum est, factum est opus inexsuperabile: Tiberis est, Tisce, Tiberis quem jubes cludi; Tiber amnis et dominus et fluentium circa regnator undarum.” Ennius “postquam constitit is fluvius, qui est omnibus princeps, qui sub ovilia” ait. Peritia opus est, ut vestem interpolam a sincera discernas. Itaque tutissimum est lectionibus ejusmodi abstinere: Facilis ad lubrica lapsus est.

Unum edictum tuum memini *me* animadvertisse, *quo* periculose scripseris vel indigna defecto aliquo libro; hujus edicti initium *est*: “Florere in suis *actibus* inlibatam juventutem.” Quid hoc est, Marce? Hoc nempe dicere vis, cupere te Italia oppida frequentari copia juniorum. Quid in versu et verbo primo facit ‘florere’? Quid significat ‘inlibatam juventutem’? Quid sibi volunt ambitus isti et circumitiones? Alia quoque in eodem edicto sunt ejusmodi. Revertere potius ad verba apta et propria et suo suco imbuta. Scabies, porrigo

ex ejusmodi libris concipitur. Monetam illam veterem sectator. Plumbei nummei et cujuscemodi adulterini in istis recentibus nummis saepius inveniuntur quam in vetustis, quibus signatus est Perperna, arte factis pristina. Quid igitur? Non malim mihi nummum Antonini aut Commodi aut Pii polluta et contaminata et misera et maculosa maculosioraque quam nutriceis pallium. Omnis personet tibia sonora, si possit, ut hebetatiorem linguam sonantiorum reddas. Verbum aliquod adquires non fictum aperte (nam id quidem absurdum est), sed usurpatum concinnius aut congruentius aut accommodatius.

“Tantum antiquitatis curaeque pro Italica gente majoribus fuit”, Sallustius ait. Antiquitatis verbum usitatum, sed nusquam isto sensu usurpatum neque ideo probe placitum. Nam volgo dicitur, quod potius sit, antiquius esse; inde ‘antiquitas’ a Sallustio derivata et, quoniam minus clarum quod et minus usitatum verbum est, insequenti verbo interpretatus est: ‘antiquitatis curaeque’. Hoc modo ‘municipies sacrorum’ dixeris. Sallustius plerisque locis quid vero te impulit, ut arceres puriora, ut ‘vetustas curaeque’ itarares, vero in eloquio aliquam *construeres* voculam? In ore plebis adhuc pervolgatum est *usque* hoc genus verborum: Accius, Plautus, Sallustius saepenumero, etiam raro Tullius *adhibet*. Vias respexi extrema ab meis supposita coquere, vidi Italiae dextima; vide sanitate sit eanp . . . de via extrema tuto locis

Vale. *Quisquis* vacat nobis, *is* de jure isto videbit.

EPISTULARUM AD ANTONINUM PIUM LIBER

ad Anton.Pium 1

[161 VdH; 1.126 Haines]

Imperator Antonino Pio Augusto Fronto.

Ut meministi, Caesar, cum tibi in senatu gratias agerem, desiderio quodam <...> quae distuleram <...> dicit <...> nere senatu frequentior . . . sum nam <...> litteras, quae *eo* die recitabuntur <...> tes <...> librum <...> dominus <...> bene vale.

ad Anton.Pium 2

[161 VdH; 1.126 Haines]

M. Frontoni Antoninus Caesar.

Quantas puto <...> me tuo <...> hercule <...> optimo in tam trita assidua tibi materia invenire et posse. Sed videlicet valde potens est, quod summe efficere possis, etiam velle. Nihil istis sensibus validus, nihil elocutione, salva sanitate tamen, civilius. Neque enim hoc omittam, ut te justissima laude fraudem, dum metuo ne insolenter laudes meas laudem. Bene igitur accepisti et rectissimo opere, cui plane seposita materia omnis honor debetur. Ceterum ad ostentandum mihi animum tuum non multum egit, nam esse te benignissimum omnium factorum et dictorum meorum conciliatorem bene noveram. Vale, mi Fronto carissime mihi.

Illa pars orationis tuae circa faustinae meae honorem gratissime adsumpta verior mihi quam disertior visa est. Nam ita se res habet: Mallem mehercule Gyaris cum illa quam sine illa in Palatio vivere.

ad Anton.Pium 3

[162 VdH; 1.254 Haines]

Antonino Pio Augusto Fronto.

Si evenire posset, imp(er)ator, ut amici ac familiares nostri nostris moribus cuncta agerent, maxime vellem; tum si non moribus, at saltem ut consiliis ubique nostris uterentur. Sed quoniam suum cujusque ingenium vitam gubernat, fateor aegre ferre me quod amicus meus Niger Censorius testamento suo, quo me heredem instituit, parum verbis temperarit. Id ego factum ejus improbus sim, si defendendo purgare postulem. Immemor amicitiae nisi

saltem deprecando sublevem. Fuit sine dubio Niger Censorinus verborum suorum inpos et minus consideratus, sed idem multarum rerum frugi vir et fortis et innocens. Tuae clementiae est, imp(erator), unicam hominis verborum culpam cum ceteris ejus recte factis ponderare. Ego quidem cum ad amicitiam ejus accessi, alii ampliores gloriam strenua opera domi bellique promeruerant. Ut ceteros ejus amicos omittam, Turboni Marcio et Erucio Claro erat familiarissimus, qui duo egregii viri alter equestris, alter senatoriordinis primari fuerunt. Postea vero ex tuis etiam judiciis et plurimum et honoris et auctoritate accesserat. Talis ego viri amicitiam adpetivi. Haud sciam, an qui dicat debuisse me amicitiam cum eo desinere, postquam cognoveram gratiam ejus apud animum tuum imminutam. Numquam ita animatus fui, imp(erator), ut coeptas in rebus prosperis amicitias, si quid adversi increpisset, desererem. Et omnino (cur enim non sententiam animi mei expromam?) ego eum, qui te non amabit, hostis numero habebō; quem vero tu minus amabis miserum potius quam hostem judicabo. Denique eis . . . e . . . rs . ad . it nat . s novas i . . mi intentius; *permultum enim refert inprobes aliquem* an cii . . . oderis.

Ego certe deos superos inferosque et fidem arcanam humanae amicitiae testor me semper auctorem fuisse, cujus <...> me <...> animo <...> utraque causas <...> et sane <...> hominem <...> eum incidisse magis doleas sed fideliter quem <...> in *eodem* agere velle in quo <...> et sane <...> expectari

poterat in eo, quem xerat nec tanta benignitas et tot beneficia <...> tri tibi autem non <...> equidem <...> cumque habeat suum finem. res autem istas, quas nec *tacere* voluimus nec *negare* credimus et, si dii aequi sunt, veras et congruentes simplicitati nostrae amicitiae, semper adsequamur.

ad Anton.Pium 4

[164 VdH; 1.260 Haines]

Domino meo Caesari.

Niger Censorius diem suum obiit. Quincuncem bonorum suorum nobis reliquit testamento cetera honesto, quod ad verba vero adtinet, inconsiderato, in quo irae magis quam decori suo consuluit. Inclementius enim progressus est in Gavium Maximum clarissimum et nobis observandum virum. Ob eam rem necessarium visum scribere me domino nostro patri tuo et ipsi Gavio Maximo difficillimae quidem rationis epistulas, in quibus et factum Nigri mei, quod inprobabam, non reprehendere nequibam, et tamen amici atque heredis officium, ut par erat, retinere cupiebam. Haec ego te, ut mea omnia cetera, conatus mehercules ad te quoque de eadem re prolixiores litteras scribere; sed recordanti cuncta mihi melius visum non obtundere te neque a potioribus avocare.

ad Anton.Pium 5

[164 VdH; 1.226 Haines]

Antonino Pio Augusto Fronto.

Vitae meae parte depicisci cupio, imp(erator), ut te complecterer felicissimo et optatissimo initi imperii die, quem ego diem natalem salutis, dignitatis, securitatis meae existimo. Sed dolor umeri gravis, cervicis vero multo gravissimus ita me adflixit, ut adhuc usque vix inclinare me vel erigere vel convertere possim: Ita immobili cervici utor. Sed apud lares, penates deosque familiares meos et reddidi et suscepi vota et precatus sum uti anno insequenti bis te complecterer ista die, bis pectus tuum et manus exoscularer praeteriti simul et praesentis anni vicem persequens.

ad Anton.Pium 6

[165 VdH; 1.228 Haines]

Ab Augusto r(escriptum).

Cum bene perspectas habeam sincerissimas in me adfectiones tuas, tum et ex meo animo non difficile *credo*, mi Fronto carissime, vel praecipue hunc diem quo me suscipere hanc stationem placuit a te potissimum vere religioseque celebrari. Et ego quidem et vota tua et te mente, ut par erat, repraesentavi mihi vuo malum iniquis s tantam amicitiam iniquos . am . . . plus

ad Anton.Pium 7

= ad amic. 2.5

ad Anton.Pium 8

[166 VdH; 1.236 Haines]

Antonino Pio Augusto Fronto.

Omnem operam me dedisse, sanctissime im(perator), et inpenso studio cupisse fungi proconsulari munere res ipsa testis est. Nam et de jure sortiendi, quoad incertum fuit, disceptavi et, postquam jure liberorum prior alius apparuit, eam, quae mihi remansit, splendidissimam provinciam pro electa habui. Postilla *quaecumque* ad instruendam provinciam adtinerent, quo facilius a me tanta negotia per amicorum copias obirentur, sedulo praeparavi: Propinquos et amicos meos, quorum fidem et integritatem cognoveram, domo accivi; Alexandriam ad familiares meos scripsi, ut Athenas festinarent ibique me opperirentur, iisque Graecarum epistularum curam doctissimis viris detuli; ex Cilicia etiam splendidos viros, quod magna mihi in ea provincia amicorum copia est, cum publice privatimque semper negotia Cilicum apud te defenderim, ut venirent, hortatus sum. Ex Mauretania quoque virum amantissimum mihiq(ue) mutuo carum Julium Senem ad me vocavi, cujus non modo fide et diligentia, sed etiam militari industria circa quaerendos et continendos latrones adjuvarer.

Haec omnia feci spe fretus posse me victu tenui et aqua potanda malam valetudinem, qua impediior, si non omnino sedare, certe ad *majora* intervalla et levioribus impetus mitigare. Ita evenit, ut solito diutius bene valerem et fortis vigerem, adeo ut etiam duas amicorum causas non minimi laboris apud te tutatus sim. Ingruit deinde tanta vis valetudinis, quae mihi ostenderet, omnem spem illam etiam frustra fuisse: Prope *omnia* du . . . me o . . . mihi ci sunt eret ob . fini dinen res . . .

mot eastus . . . con essem es et nonis ate s
stae . . . oribus pen iru . . . n . . . ecum . . r ris . . que . .
eadem quae n uin p . fur ri s . . . quis enim l . e .
. hos bis sim ervaes ins . . . sunt . . . nia re . .
. a
. os est nam ejus h
namus i . . . l . est tuus est e . . . e a nia hono
. . . uusus n . . . ota s add sive
quis ta . us s ere ta tu sis is carissim .
. ina ea te s
. ae p n
. niae iste
.
.

[Una pagina legi nequit]

auctoritas textus

Lectori salutem.

Epistolas Frontonianas, quae publico, ut spero, gaudio usuique sint, ego, grammaticus Cimber, summa cura summoque labore mea manu hoc in volumine scripsi. Deposco igitur, ne hunc textum sine venia atque nomine hujus scriptoris in aliis locis divulgaveris. Sin minus, a Domino nostro indulgentissimo precor, ut te paeniteat flagitiumque istud quam primum corrigas, ne conscientia tibi peccati aetatem, quae superest, omnem discruciet, neve lis a iudicio decernenda sit. Quae verba autem ad te, vir honestissime, nullo modo pertinent, qui hoc textu privatus utitur. Vale, domine optime!

ad Anton.Pium 9

= ad amic. 2.1

ad Anton.Pium 11

= ad amic. 2.2

ad Anton.Pium 12

= ad amic. 2.3

ad Anton.Pium 13

= ad amic. 2.4

EPISTULARUM AD AMICOS

LIBER I

ad amicos 1.1

[170 VdH; 1.282 Haines]

Fronto Cl(audio) Severo salutem.

Commendandi mos initio dicitur benivolentia ortus, cum suum quisque amicum ali amico suo demonstratum conciliatumque vellet. Paulatim denique uste mos progressus est, ut etiam eos, qui publico vel privato iudicio disceptarent, non tamen improba res videretur iudicibus ipsis aut iis, qui consilio adessent, commendare, non, opinor, ad iustitiam iudicis labefactandam vel de vera sententia deducendam. Sed iste in ipsis iudiciis mos inveteratus erat causa perorata laudatores adhibere, *qui*, quicquid de reo existimarent, pro sua opinione cum fide expromerent; item istae commendantium litterae laudationis munere fungi visae sunt.

Quorsum hoc tam ex alto prohoemium? Ne me existimasses parum considerasse gravitatem auctoritatemque tuam commendando Corneliano Sulpicio familiarissimo meo, qui propediem causam apud vos dicturos est, sed, ut dici, veteris instituti exemplo necessarium meum laudare apud te ausus sum. Industrius vir est, strenuus, ingenio libero ac liberali, patriae amantissimus, innocentia fretus magis quam confidens, litterarum studio et bonarum artium elegantia mihi ad <...>

[Duae paginae legi nequeunt]

<...> jam di me rsen . . s quicumque . . . am os e set hos
. e intercedit neque forte aut temere necessitudine ista sumus copulati, nec ultro me amicitiam Corneliani adpetisse fateor. Nam laus ad me de ingenio ejus jam pervaserat, quam veram ad aures meas accidissee usu didici multisque documentis expertus sum, habitavimus una, studuimus una, jocum seriusque participavimus, fidei consiliique periculum fecimus, omnibus modis amicitia nostra et voluptati nobis et usui fuit. Quamobrem quantum plurimum possum, tantum *imploro* quaesoque es . m nisque carissimo mihi hominis homini in causa inu . . . is . met alienis . . mum in pe r quas ineiam . . e . .
. me *incitarit* ad accusationem nostri ordinis virum, sed lectis concilii commentaris ta . te planem facie ed . e . . asse cav . . a . . tam propulsare conisus est; solliditudo animi me agit multis vum verbis commendare, sed fidum amorem nostri respondet tamen e m, quid

postulem, orationem vobis unum meum verbum visum iri.

ad amicos 1.2

[171 VdH; 1.286 Haines]

Φρόντων Ἀπ(πίω) Ἀπολλωνίδη

Κορνηλιανὸν Σουλίκιον φιλεῖν ἠρξάμην ἡσθεῖς τῷ τε τρόπῳ τάνδρὸς καὶ τοῖς λόγοις. πέφυκεν γὰρ πρὸς λόγους ἄριστα. οὐκ ἂν δὲ ἕξαρνος εἶην τὰ πρῶτα παρ' ἐμοὶ φέρεσθαι τὴν ἐκ παιδείας φιλίαν συσταθεῖσαν· παιδείαν δὲ ταύτην λέγω τὴν τῶν ῥητόρων· αὕτη γὰρ δοκεῖ μοι ἀνθρωπίνη τις εἶναι· τῶν φιλοσόφων θεία τις ἔστω. βοήθησον οὖν τὰ δυνατὰ Κορνηλιανῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρὶ κάμοι φίλῳ καὶ λογίῳ καὶ οὐ φιλοσόφῳ.

ad amicos 1.3

[172 VdH; 1.278 Haines]

Fronto Lolliano Avito salutem.

Montanum Licinium (ita te reducem complectar, quo jurejurando mea tuaque salus aequae continetur) sic diligo, ut non temere quamquam eorum, quiscum mihi hospitii jura sunt, Montano meo anteponam. Quotiensquomque Romam venit, in meo contubernali fuit, meis aedibus usus est. Una nobis mensa semper, postremo omnium paene rerum consiliorumque communicatio et societas fuit.

Huic tantum honorem haberi a te velim, quantum tuo hospiti, contubernali, consiliari tributum *ab altero* postulares c p . . . *artium* bonarum *magnus* sectator est meus Montanus, tum doctrina etiam et facundia est eleganti, etsi sentio me meo artificio nimium favere ei, quod ipse nihil *studiis* eloquentiae antetulerit, magis . . e . . nihio . ars eloquentiae ho due . . t et rerum e m et n . . . nihio ars eloquentiae ho due . . t et rerum e m et n . . . s . . . o a ret et te tuus re tia . . . ae b qua inc cestus res quo eae sus art a . . n . . aere as . antiquissimum locum laudis eloquentia possidet sae . . e fateor esse, sed ordinem . . e sset et . . . ed od . . . es . . . t . . pes . . ones ille s . tonn . . tat s . i quam bes tam s sere neque entius aper s . nus atque e ali

quisquis . . . s hos odium m ob honorem
. . ax d locum quis m . . . is sces est
neque talis
. n ex summis benignitatis opibus nihil
autem postulavit a nisi quod probum
honestumque sit et tibi datu et sibi postulatu ne nullis . . . a . mis . . .
. . . nis

Terentius Vanus olim mihi familiaris et inter paucissimos carus est; longa
virtus et nostrum vita plurimas occasiones officiorum nobis dedit plurimasque
causas adtulit m . . . o . . . e sunt dico mos et ad . . ic . . t . . tias . . domine
praeterquam possum studiosissime *provinciis* saad te as uo provincias
plenas ner . . ista pro ro etalesinmis quam dine sed ut
lum . . ta eaenins . . ded saes *immunitas* *ejusmodi*
sum ac munerum tas si quis suturempustier Rom sen
. . easuberit quam meus senator Romanus consub enere
et multi ho sus sae *amplissimis praeditus* se h
l ner illarum . . em et n
ci arum harum is amisso.

Facundissimo omnium, quae tua nobilitas est.

A mise . . . domine fili, . . . um moe . . que que rem . . .
 um ad pris egun fame et ele . . e sine . . .
 frugi, probum, philostorgum prae eu . . . sos eum, quoniam ejus rei
 nomen apud Romanos nullum est . . ineus em multum cape . . me . .
 . . l . . multum scripsit, multum is adeo postulabat asylum in ora denique justas
 res istas; igitur non maris, sed aurae cupidus *est* is et die . . plenda tali

 let. Cavillantes eundem audio aegre abstractum
 tristem contubernio meo, quod pectoris valetudine correptus laetissimo caelo
 posse redire ab Cirta patria serio videatur, quod ut fiat optes. Cum eum inter
 paucissimos ultro amem, fac mihi caro fruaris, eum praesentem accipias et
 propitia curas ambias et auxilium summum ei amicis consiliis *feras*. Post

hospitis salutem corpusque examines *saepius* cupio.

Saluta nostros *amicos et decuriones et equites* et inter Lares: Ita cenobatus es tu seris finxeris . . .

ad amicos 1.4

[174 VdH; 1.288 Haines]

Egrilio Plariano *facundissimo* viro Fronto salutem.

Julius Aquilinum virum, si quid mihi credis, doctissimum, *facundissimum*, philosophiae disciplinis ad optimas artis, eloquentiae studiis ad egregiam *facundiam* eximie eruditum, commendo tibi quam possum studiosissime. Decet a te gravissimo et sapientissimo viro tam doctum tamque elegantem virum non modo protegi, sed etiam provehi et inlustrari. Est etiam, si quid mihi credes, Aquilinus ejusmodi vir, ut in tui ornamentis aequae ac nostro merito numerandus sit. Non dubitabis ita esse, ut dico, si eum audire disputandum de Platonicis disciplinis dignatus fueris. Perspicias pro tua prudentia intelligentiaque summam in dicendo copiam, *luculentissimum* verborum apparatus, maximam frequentiam sententiarum.

Quom haec ita esseprehenderis, scito amplius esse in hominis moribus, tanta probitate est et verecindia. Maximi concursus ad audiendum eum Romae saepe facti sunt. Plurimi nostri ordinis viri *facundiam* ejus non modo probant, sed artem ejus etiam admirantur. Officio necessario inductus est, ut *hinc* proficiscerentur ad consolandam consobrinam suam casu gravi adflictam. Quantumcumque Aquilino meo honoris tribueris, id te mihi tribuisse existimato.

ad amicos 1.5

[174 VdH; 1.290 Haines]

Fronto Cl(audio) Juliano salutem.

Cuperemus profecto, mi Naucelli carissime, eo nos fato praeditos, ut, si mihi liberi etiam virilis sexus nati fuissent eorumque aetas hoc potissimum tempore ad munia militiae fungenda adolesceret, quo tempore tu provinciam cum exercitu administrares, uti sub te mei liberi stipendia mererent. Non longe aberit, quin hoc, quod uterque cuperemus, evenerit: Nam Faustinianum Satiani mei filium non minus diligo neque minus eum *a te* diligi cupio, quam si ex me natus esset. Is nunc sub te merebit. Scias etiam: Meliore bono annos

auxeris; quantum ex tua benivolentia Faustinianus ornamenti adsequetur, tantundem tu voluptatis ex Faustiniani elegantia capies. Quam doctus sit, mihi crede; quam rei militaris peritus, praedicant omnes sub quibus meruit. Sed tum demum doctrinae industriaeque suae fructum sese percepisse putabit, ubi se tibi probarit. Fac periculum in militiae muneribus, fac periculum in consiliis judiciaris, fac periculum in litteris, omni denique prudentiae et facilitatis usu vel serio vel remisso: Semper et ubique eum parem sui invenes,

Patrem vero ejus egregium virum, nisi tute nosses, satis ego laudare non possem. Quin aliquanto minus dixerim, tametsi plurimum dixero. Prosus ego Statiani mei filium qualemcumque earum haberem. Nunc vero uter utri plus apud me gratiae conciliet ignoro, nisi quod utrumque impensius alterum alterius gratia diligo.

ad amicos 1.6

[175 VdH; 2.190 Haines]

Fronto Avidio Cassio salutem.

Junius Maximus tribunus, qui laureatas Romam adtulit litteras, non publico tantum munere strenue, sed privato etiam erga te officio amice functus est: Ita de laboribus et consiliis tuis et industria et vigilantia praedicator ubique frequentissimus extitit. Ad me quidem minus valentem, cum in suburbanam villam venisset, numquam cessavit in vesperum usque fabulas nectere itinerum tuorum et disciplinae ad priscum morem institutae ac retentae; tum in agmine ducendo et manu conserenda strenuissimi vigoris tui et consultissimae opportunitatis: Prorsus ut nullus miles Plautinus de suis quam hic de tuis virtutibus gloriosius praedicaret, nisi quod Plautus de suo milite cum lepore, hic de te cum amore et cum summa fide. Dignus est quem diligas et suffragiis tuis ornes. Tuae propriae gloriae addideris quantum dignitati laudatoris tui adstruxeris.

ad amicos 1.7

[176 VdH; 2.168 Haines]

Fronto Aufidio Victorino salutem.

Antonius Aquila vir doctus est et facundus. Quod tu dicas “Audistine eum declamitantem?”, non me dius Fidius ipse audiui, sed credidi adfirmantibus id doctissimis et honestissimis et mihi carissimis viris, quos et judicare recte

posse et ex animi sententia testimonium perhibere certe scio. Velim, domine, ut adjuves eum, quo facilius in civitate aliqua istius provinciae publice instituendis adolescentibus adsciscatur. Impense istud a te peto: Factum enim Aquilae volo honoris eorum causa, qui pro eo studiose laborant. Nec ita ei studerent profecto, nisi dignum tanto studio arbitrarentur; nec nisi facundiam ejus magnopere probarent, tibi eum commendare tantopere postularent quom te gravissimum et prudentissimum judicem cum aliarum rerum tum vel praecipue eloquentiae sciant. Ego vero etiam nomine hominis faveo, ut sit ῥητόρων ἄριστος, quoniam quidem Aquila appellatur.

ad amicos 1.8

[176 VdH; 2.190 Haines]

Fronto Passieno Rufo salutem.

Aemilius Pius cum studiorum elegantia tum morum eximia probitate mihi carus est. Commendo eum tibi, frater. Nec ignoro nullum adusque inter nos mutuo scriptitantium usum fuisse, quamquam ego te optimum virum bonarumque artium sectatorem communium amicorum fama cognossem, et tu fortasse aliquid de me secundi rumoris acceperis. Sed nullum pulchrius vinculum amicitiae copulandae reperire potui quam adolescentis optimi conciliandi tibi occasionem. Ama eum, oro te, cum ipsius causa hoc peto tum mea quoque, nam me etiam magis amabis, si cum Pio familiarius egeris. Novit enim Pius nostra omnia et inprimis quam cupidissimus sim amicitiarum quom ejusmodi viris, qualis tu es, copulandarum.

ad amicos 1.9

[177 VdH; 2.240 Haines]

Fronto Caelio Optato salutem.

Sardius Saturninus artissima mihi familiaritate conjunctus est per filios suos doctissimos juvenes, quos in contubernio mecum adsiduos habeo. Magnopere eum tibi, frater, commendo et peto, si quid negotii eum ad te perduxerit, carissimum mihi virum omni honore dignum judices et ope tua protegas.

ad amicos 1.10

[177 VdH; 2.242 Haines]

Fronto Petronio Mamertino salutem.

Sardius Saturninus filium habet Sardium Lupum, doctum et facundum virum, de mea domo meoque contubernio in forum deductum, ad omnis bonas artis a me institutum, frequentissimum auditorem tuum et maximum laudatorem carminum tuorum. Habuit fratrem egregiae indolis juvenem; adtentus minus paludis aqua solus mersus in domo mea defunctus est. Me gravissimo dolore adfecit, ut eo casu gravissimo aucta mihi necessitudo sit cum Sordio Saturnino. Tu, qui alias . . . Romae, alias serio sive festivo modo amasti, altero modo consolatus sis. Oro quaesoque, ut merito honore eum prosequaris et inter cultores familiae nostrae numeres ac diligas.

ad amicos 1.11

[177 VdH; 2.86 Haines]

Fronto Velio Rufo seni salutem.

Figurae orationis sunt, quae maxime orationem ornant. Duplex autem genus est figurarum: Aut enim verborum figurae sunt aut sententiarum. In figuris verborum est tropus metaphora. Hac figura usus sum, cum ‘cloacam’ dixi de cirpore, in quo neque sangis sincerus neque aqua pura neque ullus umor liquidus, sed ita ut in palude corrupta omnia. Quod autem plerosque fugit, te hominem vehementem et cum doctrina tum multo magis natura validum scire oportet ejus modicae oratorias aliter <...>

[duae paginae desunt]

ad amicos 1.12

[178 VdH; 2.170 Haines]

Fronto Aufidio Victorino salutem.

Litteras, quas, domine, <...>

<...> meremur et mihi filiam et tibi uxorem, ut recte proveniat, favebunt et familiam nostram liberis ac nepotibus augebunt et eos, qui ex te geniti sunt eruntque, tui similes praestabunt. Cum isto quidem sive Victorino nostro sive Frontone cotidiana mihi lites et jurgia intercedunt. Cum tu nullam unquam mercedem ullius rei agenda dicendaeve a quoquam postularis, Fronto iste nullum verbum prius neque frequentius congarrir quam hoc ‘da’. Ego contra quod possum aut chartulas ei aut tabellas porrigo, quarum rerum petitem eum esse cupio. Nonnulla tamen et aviti ingeni signa ostendit: Uvarum

avidissimus est. Primum denique hunc cibum degluttivit nec cessavit per totos
paene dies aut lingua lambere uva, aut labris saviari ac gingivis lacessere ac
ludificari. Avicularum etiam cupidissimus est: Pullis gallinarum, columbarum,
passerum oblectatur, quo studio me a prima infantia devinctum fuisse saepe
audivi ex his, qui mihi eductores aut magistri fuerunt. Senes etiam quanto
perdicum studio tenear, nemo est, qui me leviter noverit, quin sciat. Nullum
est enim factum meum dictumve, quod clam ceteris esse velim; quin cui rei
mihimet ipse conscius sim, ceteros quoque omnes juxta mecum scire velim . .

.....
.....
.....

ad amicos 1.13

[179 VdH; 2.174 Haines]

Fronto Aufidio Victorino salutem.

Graviter oculos dolui novus
dolor acrior quam, qui lateris aut internati oriebantur. Internatium Graeci
‘ἱερὸν ὀστοῦν’, Suetonius Tranquillus ‘spinam sacram’ appellat. Ego me
neque Graecum neque Latinum vocabulum ullius membri nosse malem, dum
istius doloris expers vitam degerem

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.....
.....
.....

ad amicos 1.14

[179 VdH; 2.98 Haines]

Fronto Aufidio Victorino salutem.

Ad obrussae tempora

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

..... et Varianis alumnis masculis feminique sestertium deciens singulis reliquit usurarium propius quam proprium: Nam quinquagena annua ab Augusta singulis dare iussit. Plerique omnes, qui eam curaverant, frustra fuerunt: Ne libris quidem singulis ponderati sunt. Ausi tamen sunt nonnulli, navi scilicet et strenui viri, codicillos, quos jam pridem Matidia inciderat, obsignare, cum illa sine sensu ullo jaceret. Ausi etiam sunt codicillos istos apud dominum nostrum ut probe ac recte factos tueri ac defendere. Nec sine metu fui, ne quid philosophia perversi suaderet. Quid ad eum scripserim, exemplum litterarum misi tibi.

In oratione Bithyna, cujus partem legisse te scribis, multa sunt nova addita, ut arbitror ego *non* inoranate, locus imprimis de acta vita, quem tibi placitum puto, si legeris quid in simili re M. Tullius pro P. Sylla egregie scriptum reliquit, non ut per pari compares, sed ut aestimes nostrum mediocre ingenium quantum ab illo eximiae eloquentiae viro abfuat.

ad amicos 1.15

[180 VdH; 2.88 Haines]

Fronto Praecilio Pompejano salutem.

Verum ex me, mi Pompejane, uti res est, audies, velimque te mihi verum dicenti fidem habere: Orationem istam pro Bithynis ante annum fere in manus sumpseram et corrigere institueram. Tibi etiam Romae tunc agenti nonnihil de ista oratione promiseram, et quidem, si recte memini, quom sermo inter nos de partitionibus orationum ortus esset, dixeram et prae me tuleram satis me diligenter in ista oratione *conjecturam*, quae in crimine mandatae caedis verteretur, divisisse argumentis ac refutasse.

Interea nervorum dolor solito vehementior me invasit et diutius ac molestius solito remoratus est, nec possum ego membris cruciantibus operam ullam litteris scribendis legendisve impertire nec umquam istud a me postulare ausus sum. Philosophis etiam, mirificis hominibus, dicentibus sapientem virum etiam in Phalaridi tauro inclusum beatum nihilo minus fore, facilius crediderim beatum eum fore quam posse tantisper amburienti in aheno prohoemium meditari aut epichiremata scribere.

Reconciliata deinde mihi longo post tempore commoda valetudine alias egi res potius; adversus istam orationem alienato animo fui nec pudebit me fateri odium ac simultatem

Redit igitur post repudium renuntiatum oratio domum meam et mecum
denuo mansitavit.

Ab anu anucella.

[una pagina legi nequit]

.....

ad amicos 1.16

[181 VdH; 2.90 Haines]

Fronto *Praecilio Pompejano* salutem.

Eratus.

Venetus venalis est; scis hoc perpetuum Veneti esse, ut numquam venierit,
veneat semper.

Lege, *carissime mihi*

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

ad amicos 1.17

[181 VdH; 2.90 Haines]

Fronto *Cl(audio) Juliano* salutem.

Habuisti igitur domi

.....
.....
.....
..... das curare. Rescribit mihi litteras, se nullas
accepisse ait. Certe nescire vis hoc idem nos vestiri neque hoc edere, quone
nobis loquar, tui meminerim, te desideres. Meministi certe ita nos amicitiam
instituisse, ut haec officia vulgata neglegeremus, ita contenti amore vero
expectem cetera sicut ante adfore, utinam haec subice proba meae peritiae.

ad amicos 1.18

Fronto Victorino genero salutem.

Has saltem litteras ad naves sarcientas certe misi tabellarium falsa, quia alio, quo voluerat, naves pervenerant.

ad amicos 1.19

Fronto Cl(audio) Juliano salutem.

Non agnovi ista mea ab Gellio pessime quaeri: Credideris admonuisse se edere. Ego epistulae invitissime scribo et inter ampullas doctas panem amo. Saepe sileo, qua in amico prodesse possim, quid caro amico, quid familiarissimo, quid dulcissimo, quom humana et dulcia et amara communicata velim amico. Aetate sic aspera mea senis cupere tantum est; eo pervenit, ut non tantum mihi carissimus sis, sed etiam paene solus; ita solitario uteris adflatus fato, quia artem mortali lucratus erat.

ad amicos 1.20

Fronto Cl(audio) Juliano salutem.

Nescio quo pacto fit omnes provinciales loqui multa etiam laboriosus facere te quam ipsa res postulat: Acta cognitionum, epistulas omnis denique ad provinciam adtinentes. Te juvabunt tuisque optatis consiliis certantes obsequerentur adsidue: Propere munera obire permittes, pro honore provinciales tractare, ut verum sit quod Attici veteres dixerunt: “τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶναι καὶ παίζειν καὶ σπουδάζειν”. Hoc Valeriani magistri dicto offenderis malos, defenderis bonos iterum ait: “καὶ παίζειν ἀναγκαῖον” qui exercent sacerdotium neque obiecta studebam conclusus nec me Valerianus noster videre potuit.

A dominis nostris imperatoribus non propter aliud adamari me opto quam, ut te quoque participem mei corporis et animi diligant, et propter bonitatem tam certus tu fueris, quam ego sum, ita fore.

Quom tibi scriberem, paulo commodius valebam. Adhuc quoque aeger eo tempore eram ex longissima mea valetudine, quam contra curam
. aequae
.
.

..... male mulcavit, recitavi in senatu
satis repeterem, postularetur.
Fac, mi Naucelli, valetudinis tuae curam agas, ut fortis ad nos venias. Di
praestabunt, ut me quoque forticulum invenias. Valerianus noster magnas ad
te plagas rettulit, quas ab omnibus
... gravius eum tractavi quam Stratonabian aut Paralium; stragula mihi linea
sculpta quae germani
.....

ad amicos 1.21

[183 VdH; 2.192 Haines]

Fronto Fulviano salutem.
Ego integer epistularum
..... munus hoc ab eieunte aetate infrequens habui et paene
neglectum; nec quisquam est hominum, nisi me fallo, qui rarius quam ego
scripserit ad amicos aut rescripserit, nec quisquam de
.....
..... denuntio defletusque ultro citro eodem
ea tibi ac si queaxendepricatis nominis eadesba tas est
... pre res .. tevate tamen sis
amicis et comitibus
..... hi
.....
..... possi
.....
..... quod
..... non
.....
..... post
.....
..... quae
..... neque duco neque
umquam querar.

Quid igitur? Non illud quoque evenire solet, ut is, qui diu amaverit
quempiam, subito vel levitate morum vel copia novorum amicorum desinat

amare? Scis saepenumero hoc perperam multis usuvenire, s ed non nostrae mensurae hominibus; sed nescis verelarerat pro quelendines.
. . defenderitis de spe quibusdam amicis ferri opem diligentius, si aetatis nostrae mediocritas retinet.

ad amicos 1.22

[184 VdH; 2.242 Haines]

Fronto Sardio Saturnino salutem.

Gravissimum casum tuum recenti malo consolari nequivi, periculosiore valetudine ipse et in hoc usque tempus conflictatus, cum quidem mihi languore fesso cumulus aegritudinis venit nuntius amissi juvenis nostri, quem tibi optimum filium fors iniqua abstulit, mihi jucundissimum contubernalem. Quamobrem, quamquam recuperata sit commodo valetudo, tristitia tamen inhaeret animo meo magisque in dies augetur maerore Lupi nostri fratrem optimum misere desiderantis. Quom praesentem ac loquentem vis consolarer, sentio, quam difficile sit te absentem per litteras consolari. Nec postulo, ut maerere desinas (id enim frustra postulabo), sed ut *moderatus*

[duae paginae desunt]

ad amicos 1.23

[185 VdH]

Fronto Junio Maximo salutem.

Humani casus homini <...>

ad amicos 1.24

[185 VdH]

Fronto Praecilio Pompejano salutem.

Labris ejus labra fovi <...>

ad amicos 1.25

[185 VdH]

Fronto Sardio Saturnino salutem.

Hortatus sum constanter <...>

ad amicos 1.26

Fronto Junio Maximo salutem.

Per Ulpium nostrum <...>

<...> honestatis gravitatisque tuae praedicatorem, quem cupio ad me celeriter remittas. Neque enim cum alio ullo tanta familiaritas est aut tantus usus studiorum bonarumque artium communicandi. Multo etiam mihi jucundior erit, quom sermone de te mutuo recolemus ac recensebimus.

ad amicos 1.27

Fronto Squillae Gallicano salut(em).

Tibi, domine frater, commodius evenit, qui pro filio nostro praesens trepidaveris, quam mihi, qui trepidaverim absens. Nam tua trepidatio pro eventu actionis facile sedata e st; ego, quoad mihi ab omnibus contubernalibus nuntiatum est, quo successu noster orator egisset, trepidare non destiti. Et tu quidem ad singulos orationis successus, prout quaeque sententia laudem meruerat, gaudio fruebare; at ego domi sedens perpetua sollicitudine angebar, ut qui periculum actoris recordarer, laudibus actionis non interesssem. Tum praeterea multiplicis tu fructus abstulisti: Non enim audisti tantum, sed et vidisti agentem; nec eloquentia sola, sed etiam vultu ejus et gestu laetatus es. Ego tametsi quid dixerit scio, tamen ignoro, quemadmodum dixerit.

Postremo dico cui Callistus lacrimas ..
..... patrem
..... adeptus es
..... quia gaudeo
..... et hodie
esse si hodie mens
..... moris est,
sed ausculta dicendo justisti disertis, nam in forum descendit natalibus nobilis, de foro rediit eloquentia quam genere nobilior.
.....

LIBER II

ad amicos 2.1

[187 VdH; 1.306 Haines]

Volumnio Quadrato.

Secretum servabo ita, ut vis. Legam libenter itaque, ut soleo, corrigam, quantum manus, quae infirmissima sunt, tolerare poterunt. Ex voto studiorum cultum teneto diligenter et, si quid vacui temporis detur, exercendo ingenio occupare.

ad amicos 2.2

[187 VdH; 1.306 Haines]

Volumnio Quadrato.

Castricius noster libellum tuum mihi heri reddidit de balneo egredient; peti, ut mane ad me veniret ad rescriptum accipiendum. Per noctem ita vexatus sum tussi et vigiliis, ut necessario in quintam horam dormierim. Ita Castricium nostrum detinui. Ciceronianos emendatos et distinctos habebis; adnotatos a me leges ipse; in volgus enim eos exire quare nolim, scribam diligentius.

ad amicos 2.3

[187 VdH; 1.306 Haines]

Volumnio Quadrato.

Legam, fili, libenter orationem istam quam misisti mihi, et si quid videbitur corrigendum, corrigam, sed librari manu, nam mihi manus dextra *jam* vexatur doloribus non mediocribus. Cum istis tamen doloribus in circum delatus sum: Rusum enim studio inpense circensium teneor. Pedibus utor vix auditor citis aut adsum spectator; hoc agis exemplo pugnantium quidem ex libellis tuoque bestias perdas rectius orationis altesisti conjectare possum aliquantum in studiis artis promeridie te intellegent asylo recreari, ut eleganter scripsisti mihi; cupiam necesse erit, si est hic libellus, quia epistolicotata scripsisisti, ut e materia composita sit rhetoricotata.

ad amicos 2.4

[188 VdH; 1.282 Haines]

Cornelio Repentino Fronto salutem.

Fecisti, frater Contucci, pro tua perpetua consuetudine et benignitate, quod Fabianum spectatum in officiis civilibus, frequentem in forum, meum familiarem ita tutatus es, ut ei existimationem incolumem conservares. Meritissimo certe tibi parem gratiam refereundo mihi immortales prosperent di <...>

[duae paginae desunt]

<...> *tempore* nocturno in tali porro actione atque dolore ne absit; a nobis similitudo vix prestis spes

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. neque mox habebis tibi nobiles; teneto potius eos *satis* aperto odio plenos fuisse

. darent pro utro dic

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. adoris servaverunt

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Postremo neque ego Nigrum propter te amare coeperam, ut propter te eundem amare desinerem, neque tu me a Nigro tibi traditum diligere coepisti. Quamobrem tecum quaeso, ne quid obsit amicitia nobis, quia nihil profuit.

Jam si dicendum sit, deos testor me saepe vidisse Nigrum Censorium ubertim flentem desiderio tui atque hujus discidii dolore. Sed erit fortasse tempus aliud, quod ego memoriae ejus placem te ac migitem. Interim, ne quid loci malignis hominibus adversus me apud aures tuas pateat, Il . . soe . . btes perperam satis fidem, quam quom firman et sinceram cum Censorio servaverim, multo magis profecto tecum perpetuam atque incorruptam retinere conitar.

ad amicos 2.6

[189 VdH]

Fronto Arrio Antonino salutem.
Multum amicorum
.....
..... eram; demonstrati sunt mihi a doctis et multum mihi familiaribus viris, quorum apud me voluntas ipsorum merito valet plurimum. Igitur, si me amas, tantum Volumnio tribue honoris facultatisque amicitiae tuae complectandas; οἱ γὰρ φίλτατοι ἄνδρες conciliaverunt eum mihi. Igitur tam comi amicitiae accipias velim quam ille Menoetiadi volebat, ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε quom imperabat.

ad amicos 2.7

[189 VdH; 2.176 Haines]

Arrio Antonino.
Have, mi domine fili carissime. Sicut eos, qui dicta factaque tua in administranda provincia maximis laudibus ferunt, laetus ac libens audio, ita, si quis quid remurmurat aut deprecatur, multo scupulosius ausculto et, quo quicque modo gesseris aut judicaveris, requiro, ut qui existimationi tuae famaеque juxta quam meae consultum cupiam.
Volumnius Serenus Concordiensis, si nihil in iis, quae apud me commemorarunt, verae rei dempsit aut addidit, jure meritoque utetur me apud te vel patrono vel precatore. Quodsi ultra epistulae modum videbor progressus, eo eveniet, quod res postulat, ut cum epistula conjuncta sit quaedam causidicatio.
Rem omnem ita, ut mihi Volumnius exposuit, proponam, simul et quidque, verumne sit, rogabo: Estne lege coloniae Concordiensium cautum, ne quis

Si omnia ista, quae supra dixi, ita decreta, ita depensa, ita gesta sunt, estne, cur duvites post quinque et quadraginta annos sitne decurio, qui scriba fuerit, pecuniam ob decurionatum intulerit, commoda decurionatus usurpaverit, munia fuctus sit? Et quid est, mi fili, quid est, quod ista probari tibi plenius velis? Quoniam quaereret exemplaria

..... non ea

sed propere censoribus servaverim est a

..... cum posces

..... num do consilia debet

..... debet

offenderit

harundinem, quamvis proceram, dixerit felicem. Atque aequiusne est arboribus honori atque tutelae poma et bacas esse quam hominibus liberosque nepotesque?

Donicum pro donec.

Volumnius quod dedecoratus erat, globus re vera in uno homine et forum equitum Romanorum, pars curiae dehonestatur: Raro umquam tot simul capita de caelo tacta, quam *tu condemnasti*. Genitorum meorum aetate lucrum et facultates pedibus, manibus petere solebant. Verius est virtutem neglegere inertibus fere senibus esse exitiosum: Tam valide res sudore crescit, quom ille, qui esse quam videri bonus maluit, fortunis parum prosperis usus est. Verius immo est eum, qui opinionem virtutis neglegat, virtutem quoque ipsam neglegere, neque quisquam bonas artis magno opere studet adipisci, quas adeptus necne sit, non studet scire vel permultorum sententiam errare, deinde sententiae tuae stare possis, qui c . r . . r . . m . . . are iterum verbum . . . quod in absentis agis, miror si nisi portento; sin repudium dare et adgnatis possit, addubito; nam quidem, quod longum sit, posse interdum fieri longius, altum altius, numerosum numerosius. Haec et ejusmodi verba video admittere aliquod augendi laxamentum, pleno autem plenius nihil fieri posse. Nam poculum profecto si plenum sit, magis conpleri frustra postules, nisi effuderis. Enimvero quom omnibus negotiis artata sint tempora, alterum tempus tradat alterum conjunctum, alterum tempus ne culpares ac putes cum animo tuo, an ista ipsa causa tempus argumenti probandi careat.

Antequam decurionum vestimentis perbene creari debuit, si per utrumque creatus est. Ubi creatus est, usurpare honorem debuit: Multifariam usurpavit. Postquam usurpavit, pensionibus inferre pecuniam debuit: Quater intulit. Munia decurionatus ista plurima et fueris isdeteras quidem sine secessu a pro dedecus suscipiatur ad per als . . c . . amutas labrum cumulasti, si et tanta a reo redemptas parum valent; quidquid huc additum fuerit, frustra abundabit. Nam ubi, quae ad fidem sat esse oportet, satis judici non sunt, nullus finis est ambiguitatis, si plura sint, quam sat est, iudicibus perconstare fidem, ut rectam viam ingressis certus est itineris finis ac modus, errantibus autem peragrarare facilius est quam pervenire.

Nun arte fori alterius sententiae restiterint
..... consilia servantur, neminem tenendum quantum
esto, nisi quod jura sunt lenissimum, mansuetissimum, doctissimum,
piissimum in causa non dicam bona (finge enim ambigua) tanto natu senem
prohibuisse curia 'interim'. Cui aetati omnium vacatio munerum data est,
quam aetatem nulla lex, si sacramento adiguntur, res publica magis inter
nullas se qui hodie repeti fiotine dabas ei tua aut *ignominia* . . . inrica sic
tenes.

Seni septuaginta annos olim egresso insignes maculas infligis, quando, oro
te abolendas? Sine tripudis et ludificas. Quantum enim est vitae natis ais
'abstine' et ista in plerosque? Qunatulum enim est vitae tempus reliquum ad
infamiam exuendam et pristinam dignitatem sperandam? Hoc, quod vocas
'interim', quantisper sperabit? Si tantisper dum vivet, paulisper *sperabit*. Quis
segeti torridae messem procrastinat 'interim'? Quis vindemiam maturam ac
destillantem propellit 'interim'? Quis tempus prorogat pomis m itibus aut
floribus marcentibus aut facibus ardentibus? Etiam soli credo recenti verbum
'posterius', id est interim, occidenti aptius 'confestim'. Vellem, sicut tu senem
differs, ita aetas quoque differet. Teneram pro 'interim' et 'confestim' dixerit
et vita sat timent quando s
., id est adolescentiae et juventuti prolixa curricula vita data sunt, sicut diebus
interdum et noctibus licet esse longis, cum senectus viridis et quidem et vitae
crepusculum interdum non longum poterit esse
.. flores segetes vites metiendae sunt.

Proculus Julius quidecimvir anno decimo lamentis relegatus est gratuando
tulit biennium illud noit
..... homini seni quidquid verbis perversis tum veridicis
.... Sexto Didio fautore effecit, ut gratae provinciae
..... si sapiam
conspirati nec legerentur
..... ridisse poenam inrogatam, item praeverti et
quinquennium exsulis in triennium artavit; orius pugnavit fervidius ter laesus,
adlatas tum per spatia temnio invias usque lanasiastdii clementer
vocare ad niasiar facultates *arbiter*
Proculus homo ingenio ad cetera remisso et delicato, sed in sententiis dicundis
ad poeniendum paulo durior et infensor et infestior

..... male maledico; plerique ad cetera viri minime
severi inlautius prolati, in iudicando asperi tamen in eadem dignitate fuere,
videlicet spectantes, ut pro severitate, qua carebant, obtensui saevitias
subornarent.

Biennium tunc de exacto demum Volumnio probato de exigendo illi nunc
remansit biennium vitae *explendum*, quia
..... adagi a te nosci . . . entia tua res nondum aliter structa est
..... sit, detrahis ignominiam ejus liberis,
nepotibus, genero, adfinibus, quibus pretia domi patrem fratresque reliqueris.

Igitur subleva misericordia aetatem familiarem tibi et patritam. Pervicisti
tibi ut rescindas sic disciplina recte, sed potius opto, ut res, quas sibi interim
distulerat, vel totus or . . . a . ee . ms . . . a . . . ingr . . s . . al e
vel decorum ordinem decurionatum rec is pro . . terea
. . p ia e relaturis inter iterati sineret, quoad omnem
pro decurionatu pecuniam dependisset sibi . a um priusquam
reliquit omni . . o . . u . . s . . e . . s . . s es re r .
. . . t equidem docte dictis et interdum facias et

ad amicos 2.8

[197 VdH; 2.188 Haines]

Arrio Antonino.

Gratulor, mihi plerisque hominibus es en ut opus
meos quisquis . . . a fortissimis me a tenon secus quam parentem
observari. Eo fit, ut ad me decurrant plurimi, qui tuam gratiam cupiunt. Quos
ego non temere nec sine dilectu audio, sed probe petentibus suffragium meum
impertio. Iis vero, qui parum probe quid a te impetratum velint, ipse denego,
ut a me potius *ferant* repulsam.

Burburiana saidia . e . . audiam e . e . s . ressen . s. plurimos ita maxime
caros mihi viros, ut magno opere eis obsequi cupiam, ita tamen ut ars maxima
ac potissima sit justitiae tuae ratio habenda
. tuae humanitati congruens videbatur. Desiderium Baburianae
commendandum tibi recepi et, quam possum studiosissime, commendo et
honorasti decenter identidem sicut scribis servanda . a adesi
exstructum videbatur apulasporiis figuras . . . ingentes dependi pronuntiasti
quid aduletsiaexesalul . . ne peperiam quo velut diuturna dicas an agas, quod

fuit tradendum, superest; quod a te benefice providendum, in pauca conferam. Sententiae tuae Buburiana non aequo animo, sed prompto etiam et, paene diceret, juveniliter *morigeratur*. Quid igitur postulat, quod tibi non ambitiosum concessu, Baburiana verecundum oratu et jucundum impetratu fuerit, ut pecunia ista, quae de sententia tua usurarum i inpenditur, operi exstruendo adjungatur; est multo honestas quondam impigri ac idoneus quam poneriscendens nola petita contulisse polluisse sententias ita priora Caesaris operis perennius aliter ritarexeris, sed etiam infamia multata videatur; id populo quoque ni<...>

[duae paginae desunt]

ad amicos 2.9

[199 VdH]

Arrio Antonino.

Valerius Clitianus <...>

ad amicos 2.10

[199 VdH]

Illiviris et decurionibus.

Meae gloriae totius <...>

ad amicos 2.11

[199 VdH; 1.292 Haines]

Illiviris et decurionibus.

Quantae mihi curae <...>

<...> multoque malim patriae nostrae tutelam auctam quam meam gratiam. Quare suadeo vobis patronos creare et decreta in eam rem mittere ad eos, qui nunc fori principem locum occupant: Aufidium Victorinum, quem in numero municipum habebitis, si di consilia mea juverint; nam filiam meam despondi ei nec melius aut mihi ad posteritatem aut meae filiae in omnem vitam consulere potui quam, cum talem mihi generum cum illis moribus tantaque eloquentia elegi. Servilium quoque Silanum optimum et facundissimum virum jure municipis patronum habebitis, cum sit vicina et amica civitate Hippone Regio. Postumium Festum et morum et eloquentiae nomine recte patronum vobis feceritis, et ipsum nostrae provinciae et civitatis non longinquae. Horum

patronorum non mediocri dote frui gaudebitis. Tres facite, ut e meis cognoscites, non quasi quia familiares essent Liciniae familiae et adesse adversus rem *eam* noluerint.

Quae causa tres m . . . ad aliud consilium inpulerit, dicam: Quoad aetas mihi et valetudo integra fuit, negotia vestra et quae mea voce recensa sunt, non censeo facilius et aetates datas, si in rem nostram eraure et juniorum praesidiis esse fundatam, nec ignoro, quantus umutra per vitae nostrae
.
. nam nos et virum popularem habeamus et virum consularem jus publicum respondentem. Ego quoque, ut spero, quoad aetatis vis vigit, in officiis civilibus non obscure versatus sum. Alii quoque plurimi sunt in senatu Cirtenses clarissimi viri. Postremus est honos maximus tres vestram gessisse civitatem
.
.
. tria ei aut sibi, sed etiam suave est, nisi ardem adfuturos numero, sed vos melius est jam nunc interdum quid et quantum
.
.
. incerta explicem.

[una pagina legi nequit]

ad amicos 2.12

[200 VdH]
Praeciliano Pompejano.
Esse porro <...>

ad amicos 2.13

[200 VdH]
<...>
<...>

ad amicos 2.14

[200 VdH]

<...>

<...>

ad amicos 2.15

[201 VdH]

<...>

<...> *se defendi jam* <...>

PRINCIPIA HISTORIAE

[202-214 VdH; 2.196-218 Haines]

Domino meo Antonino Augusto Fronto.

..... inveni

reire

..... des ad .

..... Parthis equitibus as sutas Parthis

..... castus hostis

..... arcus Herculis an Artemis stola vestita a carnificeris as

.....conscriptam indiscreta

.....ine .. ist

..... m . legas . uodares ad magni hominis ani mum et . era fertur . .

oceatis at aestatem tiar istis sumtatres et fratris tui magnis rebus gestis historia

consilio et diligenter scripta nonnihil studii et rumoris auctura sit, sicut ignem

quamvis magnum vel levis aura, si adflaverit, adjuverit.

Tantas res a te gestas, quantas et Achilles gessisse cuperet et Homerus scribissse <...> al ab oratoribus ad historiam conversus vereor, ne qua novitate et insolentia alias ad ignota, tum et a can<...>

<...>era cantibus et modis, absonum quid modulatu et cantu cecinerim
novo <...>

Ubi primum frater suarum rerum commentarios miserit, nos res scribere
adgrediemur, si tamen thema, quod gustui mittimus, non displicebit

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..... qualia nec desumus, advenires et
.....
.....
.....
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.....
..... te heac . o . fratres dom . operis
commentarium miserit; tamen metuo, ne miseris nimisandum
..... *adgrediamur* gestas, quantas et Achilles gessisse cuperet et Homerus
scripsisse t
... historiam
.....
.....
..... perterritos facis

Quid adiciam? Ista sane committito requirere inlustris terminanda . . .
parata sequor inpendio moribus resolutis Antiochiae *inquin*lini
..... reliquum erit, si venis, visitare deinceps
desinere tantae sunt ariumsesa florilegio ando usque ad sexanta deinceps
tnsivisoripio recitare
..... no
..... sponte l
magnas desperandasque graves cis Taurum clades post casus per fabellas
delectantes; eorum profecto uberrima ingenia frustra fuissent, ni magnificis
sese rebus scribendeis occupassent itemque nisi pro magnitudine rerum
gestarum scriptorum quoque ingenia congruerent aut rebus vel adaptarentur.
Et Homeri disperderentur carmina, si pugnae deessent, quod carmine secundo
integro, sed primis etiam primi carminis versibus declaravit. Certe Xenophon
Atheniensis dignus custos experientiae Graecorum sub Cyro stipendia
voluntaria fecit. et Herculis
aerumnae celebres, si non rebus etiam, tamen disciplina.

Discipulis naturae in navium arte extruendi deus alitis pinnatas *facultates*
sapienter tueri dare; *remos* certe deputat, catus ita Cato *Censorius* a patria
oppidatim statuis ornandus, qui prima sollertiarum et Latini nominis subolem

[illegible]

Liberum amanti est inculpatum silentium. Namque ceteri mortales praesenti die mentitur; scribtorum mendacia tam culpam quam memoriam merent sempiternam.

Humani . . . ni . . . anni perlegen tutis etiam ctuta
 pida.

. quondam nitidis peres
 an liceret ased dominus meus datu
 . . . ic de re, qua min
 censum sisptesdi res futura ciari in fini
 sentiret
 adornabant
 magnam autem
 gloriam dummodo oculos
 enumentunesertam m . . . in aucta rum simultatem ti jam quam .
 ris alta <...> principa
 cum pueri
 dum
 cum belli sollicitudo
 et mihi

..... tes adest Pollio
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..... nationes quae rapinis et direptionibus
clades ediderunt, latronum potius quam hostium numero duco. Soli hominum
Parthi adversus populum Romanum hostile nomen haud umquam
contemnendum gesserunt. Id satis demonstrat non Crassi modo clades et
Antonii foeda fuga, sed etiam fortissimi imperatoris Trajani ductu legatus cum
exercitu caesus et principis ad triumphum decedentis haudquaquam segura
nec incruenta regressio.

Bella igitur duo maxima a duobus maximis imperatoribus adversus Parthos
nostra memoria pari eventu bellata contendere inter sese pro copiis cujusque
ducis et temporis pergam, haud ignarus fortia facinora viventium gravatius,
mortuorum *gratius* accipi; faveri praeteritis, invideri praesentibus. Namque
invidia semper se superstitis perdit deabhasdoin disceret
erdebebitur demi credis apus sola posse quis sal ant se . a
recta se atpa
..... leis lasas con
..... oistens
..... isi ipsi sui cti
anum ent rupteque
..... a
..... ac autos
Romanorum

Ubi primum magnum ducem res p(ublica) poposcit, id est pensis *parem*
propositis, omnibus Arpinati paupertate aut Nursina duritia ortis ducibus
bellicosior extitit
..... orbant in
urbano in

tranquillus
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. oratoribus conpori
. a et ss . . . no . . se .
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discipulis ut que paul e sc
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prolapsa porro e
nibus cl ti . . . ua . . . nta . . . o tanta
. ea labare
. attis tni
. dtpmntum conl
. statua sos
. sisse pascum lata
. niq
.
naves excerpta ex panegurico Vologaesi <...>

[sedecim paginae deesse videntur]

<...> olim adversus Romanos intentum et infestum et instructum, bellis
exercitatum ac tam ab insidiis Romanorum ad dum
. in . agit ratum, quom ad omne facinus
audendum praeceps agebatur nullo jam scelere, quod atrocius auderet reliquo.

Tum praeterea e truend . m no datum trato
bellum randum
. ad hoc in
bellum profectus est cum cognitis militibus hostem Parthum contemnentibus,
sagittarum ictus post ingentia Dacorum falcibus inlata volnera despicatui
habentibus. Multos militum imp(erator) suo quemque nomine proprio aut
castrensi cognomento joculari appellabat. Plerosque adeo centuriatu vel
corniculo vel aere duplo, multos pilo aut hasta principe provexerat, qui vel
partam servum cujusque
. herede usu militari pensiones

hostium spoliis feroces, quas saepe victor et triumphos celebrans . . . s mulso vidisset.

Lucio Parthis aut dilectu novi tirones sumendi fuerunt aut fracti aspera legitima militia tenendi militibus tristi et molli militia corruptis. Namque post imperatorem Trajanum disciplina prope modum expertes erant Hadriano principe circumeundis et facunde appellandis exercitibus satis inpigro. sed summa fugiente bellorum. Quin provincias manu Trajani captas, quarum Daciae non jam pacatae erant, omittere maluit quam exercitu retinere. Ejus itinerum monumenta videas per plurimas Asiae atque Europae urbes sita, cum alia multa tum sepulcra ex saxo formata. Non solum in gelosas, sed etiam in alias meridionalis sedis terras profectus est saluti his provinciis, quas trans Euphratis et Danuvii ripas sitas Trajanus spe Moesiae et Asiae provinciae addere . . . e . imperio Romano adnexuerat. Has omnino provincias, Daciam et Parthis omissas partes, ultro restituit. Exercitus in Asia se pro scutis atque gladiis salibus sub pellibus delectare: Neminem umquam ducem post ejusmodi vidit.

Aureli(us) Antoninus sanctus imp(erator) retinuisse se fertur a sanguine abstinendo uni omnium Romanorum principum Numae regi aequiperandus . . . pertum post Hadrianum ad opera similia ac rem publicam sibi administrandam nenootere . apud . . . s sis a patria satis ex Parthis quissetqupastacortura nec belli adversus Parthos instaurandi auctor existens, ita longa desuetudine bellandi miles Romanus ad ignaviam redactus. Nam cum omnibus vitae artibus tum praecipue rei militari desidiosa noxia est. Permultum etiam interest fortunam variam experiri et gnaviter milites in campo exercere.

Corruptissimi vero omnium Syriatici milites, seditiosi, contumaces, apud signa infrequentes, prae statutis praesidiis vagi, exploratorum *more* palantes, de meridie ad posterum temulenti, ne armatu quidem sustinendo adsueti, sed inpatientia laboris armis singillatim omittendis in velitum atque funditorum modum seminudi. Praeter hujusmodi dedecora malis proeliis ita perculsi fuerunt, ut ad primum Parthorum conspectum terga verterent, tubas quasi fugae signum canentis audirent. Tantam militaris disciplinae labem pro re Lucius coercuit, industria sua ad militandum exemplo proposita. Primus ipse in agmine haud saepius equo vehi quam pedibus fatisci; tam solem torridum facile quam diem serenum ferre; pulverem confertum pro nebula pati,

sudorem in armis ut in ludicris insuper habere; caput apertum soli et imbribus et grandini et nivibus neque vel adversus tela munitum praebere; spectandis in campo militibus operam dare et aegros intervisere; non incuriose per militum contubernia transire, sed forte temere Syrorum munditias introspicere, Pannoniorum inscitias; de cultu cujusque ingenium arbitrari. Sero ipse post decisa negotia lavatus mensa sobria, victu in castris plebejo *uti*, vinum loci, aquam temporis bibere, primam vigiliam facile vigilare, postremam jamdudum expergitus opperiri, labore magis quam otio laetari, otio ad laborem abuti, vacua militaribus tempora civilibus negotiis occupare. In penuria subita ramis nonnumquam et frondibus proprie *pro* supellectile usus est, caespitem interdum ut torum incubans. Somnum cepit labore paratum, non silentio quaesitum. Graviora demum perverse facta severe animadvertit, leviora sciens dissimulavit; locum paenitendi reliquit. Nam delicta sua plerique, dum ignorari putant, corrigunt; ubi manifesta sciunt, inpudentia obfirmantur.

De legibus anxia fuit *cura*.

De legionibus.

Cujusmodi sint hostes Parthi.

Panegyricus Trajani imp(eratoris).

.....
 fuga certaminis

 pera
 necesse erat

 am savisdiorē
 visset providere per tot provincias, tot obsidionum, proeliorum,
 arcium, stationum, castellorum excidendorum aperta discrimina, curas et
 consilia dispergere, non luxurias; ducenta tametsi profudit spolia
 fessus
 pore
 ausis prius
 num consentirem

 hos ibi h elasoslig ignoscēs dies ...

visetdnon

 nom

 gnarus . . s de legione non

 ere

 omnium reli <...> portare <...> longior mora <...> impe <...>
quamobrem <...> etiamtum junioris decere <...> quo minus ad triumphum
<...> habitus <...>

Sciret catafractos somiles esse beluis piscibus, eas eludere alto mari
cernuantis, *in magnis* persultare campestribus.

De Parthorum belli more.

Laus Trajani.

Equi lubrico instabiles, manus frigore inritae, arcus imbribus enerbes.

. spectes, Lucius consiliorum
sollertia longe esse Trajano senior

. pata majore facilitas

. magn r persultare campestribus et de
ejusdem per reprocelseto

. arresimisasral omne

. . legatos missitare; recte res gesta: Paucis ante diebus *Lucius* ad Vologaesum

litteras ultro dederat, bellum, si vellet, condicionibus poneret. Dum oblatam pacem spernit barbarus, male mulcatus est.

Ea re dilucide patet, quanta Lucio cura insita sit militum salutis, qui gloriae suae dispendio redimere cupiverit pacem incruentam. Trajano suam potio-rem gloriam in sanguine militum futuram de ceteris ejus studiis multi conjectant; nam saepe Parthorum legatos pacem precanteis dimisisse inritos.

Justitiae quoque et clementiae fama apud barbaros sancta de Lucio; Trajanus non omnibus aequè purgatus. Regnum fortunasque suas in fidem Luci contulisse neminem paenituit; Trajano caedes Parthamasiri regis supplicis haud satis excusata. Tametsi ultro ille vim coeptans tumultu orto merito interfectus est, meliore tamen Romanorum fama impune supplex abisset, quam jure supplicium luisset, namque talium facinorum causa facti latet, factum spectatur, longeque praestat secundo gentium rumore injuriam negligere quam adverso vindicare.

Bello Parthico utroque consulares viri duo exercitum utrique ducentes obtruncati: Severianus quidem Lucio ab urbe necdum etiamtum profecto; Appius Santra vero, cum praesens Trajanus Euphrati et Tigridis portoria equorum et camelorum tribularet, retro ad Balcia Tauri ab Arbace caesus est.

Laus Trajani.

Illud etiam trosciusl . opprobrio ductum bello areo ignorante histrionem ex urbe in Syriam accisse. Sed profecto, sicut arborum altissimas vehementius ventis quati videmus, ita virtutes maximas invidia crimosius insectatur. Ceterum bello an pace clarior Trajanus imp(erator) existimandus sit, in ambiguo equidem pono, nisi quod armis etiam Spartacus et Viriathus aliquantum potuere: Pacis artibus vix quisquam Trajano ad populum, nescio si qui adaeque, acceptior fuerit. Ipsa haec cum *prioris vitae* nonnullis detrectationibus lacescunt. Ex summa civilis scientiae ratione sumpta videntur, ne histrionum quidem ceterorumque scaenae aut circi aut harenae artificum indiligentem principem fuisse, ut qui sciret populum Romanum duabus praecipue rebus, annona et spectaculis, teneri; imperium non minus ludicreis quam serieis probari atque majore damno seria, graviore invidia ludicra neglegi; minus acribus stimulis congiaria quam spectacula expeti; congiarieis frumentariam modo plebem singillatim placari ac nominatim, spectaculis universum interdum esse delectatetgraal quod tuo r ubtissu se oporteat certum utramque ut

famem facile eis depellant Neptunum Martemque victae rei coplapstbi
offererant . . l depolo vel latum atfestent ri petere arceant
non te pons magis aluit porisepthur aut suovetaurilibus quam ludeis
spectaculorumque caerimonieis placaret. Ei rei pompas et carpenta et tensas et
exuvias a majribus dicatas, elephantos et in pace, quibus numquam populus
Romanus in acie usus sit, spectaculeis deservire nocturnis bitari di . . s ulla
antiqui oculeis cataum etgisis pro satis audiris majoris
rei aut te constrepi aut linguis pluribus ominari: Haec a me detrectationis
refutandae causa memorata sunt.

..... aerem in ordioni

..... *comparata* si quis leget, seu
proavus seu pronepos virtute praestare videbitur, comparationis quidem
discrimen in familiae nomine permanebit.

LAUDES FUMI ET PULVERIS DIS PARATAE

Laudes Fumi et Pulveris

[215-217 VdH; 38-44 Haines]

Caesari suo Fronto.

Plerique legentium forsán rem de titulo contemnant: Nihil serium potuisse fieri de fumo et pulvere. Tu pro tuo excellenti ingenio profecto existimabis, lusa sit opera ista an locata.

Sed res poscere videtur de ratione scribendi pauca praefari, quod nullum hujuscemodi scriptum Romana lingua exstat satis nobile, nisi quod poetae in comoedis vel Atellanis adtigerunt. Qui se in ejusmodi rebus scribendis exercebit, crebras sententias conquiret easque dense conlocabit et subtiliter conjunget, neque verba multa geminata supervacanea inferciét; tum omnem sententiam breviter et scite concludet. Aliter in orationibus judiciariis, ubi sedulo curamus, ut pleraeque sententiae durius interdum et incompertius finiantur. Sed contra istic laborandum est, ne quid inconcinnum vel hiulcum relinquatur, quin omnia ut in tenui veste oris detexta et revimentis sint cincta. Postremo, ut novissimos in epigrammatis versus habere oportet aliquid luminis, sententia clavi aliqua vel fibula terminanda est.

Inprimis autem sectanda est suavitas. Namque hoc genus orationis non capitis defendendi nec suadendae legis nec exercitus adhortandi nec inflammandae contionis scribitur, sed facetiarum et voluptatis. Ubique vero ut de re ampla et magnifica loquendum, parvaeque res magnis adsimulandae comparandaeque. Summa denique in hoc genere orationis virtus est adseveratio. Fabulae deum vel heroum tempestive inserendae, item versus congruentes et proverbia accommodata et non inficete conficta mendacia, dum id mendacium argumento aliquo lepido juvetur.

Cumprimis autem difficile est argumenta ita disponere, ut sit ordo eorum rite conexus. Quod ille *divinus philosophus* Plato Lusiam culpat in Phaedro sententiarum ordinem ab eo ita temere permixtum, ut sine ullo detrimento prima in novissimum locum transferantur et novissima in primum, eam culpam ita devitabimus, si divisa generatim argumenta nectemus, non sparsa nec sine discrimine aggerata, ut sunt, quae per saturam feruntur, sed ut praecedens sententia in sequentem laciniam aliquam porrigat et oram praetendat: Ubi prior sit finita sententia, inde ut sequens ordiatur; ita enim

transgredi potius videbimur quam transilire.

Variatio vel cum detrimento aliquo gratior est in oratio quam recta continuatio.

Jocularia austere, fordiora *hilariter* dicenda.

Modo illud incorruptum sit et pudicum, Tusculanum et Ionicum, id est Catonis et Herodoti.

In omni re facilius est rationem docendi nosse quam vim agendi obtinere.

Verum hi nonnumquam

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. . *bene laborare, quae res est multae operae; bene dicere* sic est quoque sicuti bene velle ac bene precari, quae res voce animoque sine opibus perpetrantur.

Igitur ut quisque se benignissimum praestabit, ita is plurimos laudabit, nec tantum eos, quos alii quoque laudibus ante decoraverint, verum conquirit deos et homines a ceterorum laudibus relictissimos, ibique signum benignitatis expromet. Ut agricola, agrum intactum si conserat, *laboriosus est, sic* religiosi et sacerdotes, *si apud fanum desertum* vel apud fanum avium sacrificent.

Laudabo igitur deos infrequentes quidem a laudibus, verum in usu cultuque

humano frequentissimos, Fumum et Pulverem, sine quis neque asae neque foci neque viae, quod volgo ajunt, nec semitae usurpantur. Quodsi quis hoc primum ambigit, numerandusve sit Fumus in deum numero, cogitet ventos quoque in deum numero haberi, quaeque sunt Fumo simillimae, nebulas nubesque putari deas et in caelo conspici et, ut poetae ferunt, amiciri deos nubibus, et Jovi Junonique cubantibus nubem ab arbitris obstitisse. Quod si nunc divinae naturae proprium est, nec Fumum manu prehendere nec solem queas, neque vincire neque verberare neque detinere neque, vel minimum rimae si dehiscat, excludere

Nam qui nimis anxie munia conficiunt, parum amicitiae confidunt.

Nov . everterunt . ran . amicitiam et semia . nemu . . . nt ne quid umquam
necesse haberent . eobn industria s . . ne . somne . . . s . .
usquequaque eis d e n
. tis am est *neglegentiam* interdum tem . e . .
. qu a e con . . .
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. besse negant . . <...>

[una pagina legi nequit]

LAUDES NEGLENTIAE

[218-220 VdH; 1.44-48 Haines]

Caesari suo Fronto.

Laus neglegentiae.

Agitavi laudes neglegentiae conscribere; quae cur nondum etiam etiam id conscribserim, ut res est, id quoque neglego

[duae paginae deesse videntur neque una legi potest]

<...> temperantia coercetur. Volgo etiam laudata indulgentia promptam peccatis hominum veniam dare: Nisi delicta facile intellegas, parum clementer indulgeas.

Quod autem quis intutam et expositam periculis neglegentiam putet, mihi omne contra videtur, multo multoque diligentiam magis periculis obnoxiam esse. Namque neglegentiae haud quisquam magnopere insidias locat, existimans etiam sine insidiis semper et ubique et, ubi libeat, neglegentem hominem in proclivi fore fallere; adversus diligentis vero et circumspectos et exsultantis opibus fraudes et captiones et insidiae parantur. Ita ferme neglegentia contemptu tutatur, diligentia astu oppugnatur. Et erratis neglegentia venia paratior datur et benefactis gratiis gratia habetur. Nam praeter opinionem gratum est ceterarum rerum indiligentem bene facere in tempore haud neglexisse.

Jam illud a poetis saeculum aureum memoratum, si cum animo reputes, intellegas neglegentiae saeculum fuisse, cum ager neglectus fructus uberes ferret omniaque utensilia neglegentibus nullo negotio suppeditaret. Hisce argumentis neglegentia bono genere nata, deis accepta, sapientibus probata, virtutum particeps, indulgentiae magistra, tuta ab insidiis grataque benefactis, excusata in erratis et ad postremum aurea declaratur m de Favorini nostri pigmentis fuci quisnam appingere? Videlicet, ut quaeque mulier magis facie freta est, ita facilius cutem et capillum neglegere; plerisque autem, ut sese magnopere exornent, diffidentia formae diligentiae inlecebras creari. Myrtum buxumque ceteraque tonsilia arbusta atque virgulta summa diligentia et studio radi, rigari, comi solita, humi reptare aut ibidem haud procul a solo cacumina erigere: At illas intonsas abietes neglectasque piceas caput aemulum nubibus addere. Non aequae diligentes ad quaerendum victum et comparandum cibum leones ut formicas esse, texendi vero araneas diligentiores esse quam Penelopam ullam vel Andromacham. Et omnino

<...> hoc <...> quas <...> neve ob <...> et voluntaris <...> quod vel
praecipuum vero <...>nerent bicorbath ita c eu ex . . . nen .
. . . os . . . s . ac
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. . . o n eu r
cui res sca . b . n non expro q
. statuit quemadmodum bim t mese
. r quota, oro te, portio Lucullanae hereditatis .
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. n castum
. caesum aureo
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. tes
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DE BELLO PARTHICO

[226 VdH; 1.20-30 Haines]

Domino meo Antonio Augusto Fronto.

<...> tametsi genuit gentem Romanam, aequo animo patitur fatisci nos interdum et pelli et volnerari. An cunctetur de militibus nostris Mars pater illa dicere?:

“Ego cum genui, tum morituros scivi et ei rei sustuli;
praeterea, cum ob terrae orbem misi ob defendendum imperium,
scibam me in mortifera bella, non in epulas mittere.”

Haec verba Telamo Trojano bello de suis liberis semel elocutus est; Mars de Romanis saepe multisque in bellis hoc carmine usus est: Gallico bello apud Alliam, Samnitei apud Caudium, Punico ad Cannas, Hispanico apud Numantiam, Jugurthino apud Cirtam, Parthico ad Carrhas. Sed semper et ubique aerumnas adoris terroresque nostros triumphis commutavit.

Sed ne nimis vetera alte petam, vestrae familiae exemplis utar: Trajani proavi vestri ductu auspicioque nonne in Dacia captus vir consularis? Nonne a Parthis consularis aequae vir in Mesopotamia trucidatus? Quid? Avo vestro Hadriano imperium obtinente quantum militum a Judaeis, quantum ab Britannis caesum? Patre etiam vestro imperante, qui omnium principum <...>

Si Marso quis patre natus viperas, lacertas et natrices timeret, nonne degenerare videretur?

Cujusmodi sint hostes Parthi.

[duae paginae legi nequeunt duaeque desunt]

<...> pauculis diebus in fascis tenentur, illi in pannis sunt omnem aetatem.

Itaque bonus ille imperator
venire captivos jubebat s
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sunt ingratus quid ego, quippe cui sin quod . . .
. s . . at qu
. quic
. num me . . piscibus in caudis est, avibus in
pinnis anguibus serpendi vi h
. n e

emergeret. Tum, quod sciens sponteque *fecisset*, abjectum *lapidem valde*

dolebat; cum e piscem co sic ne piscator quidam nactus indignum duxit ad venalis deferre, sed dignitati parens regi obtulit. Rex gratum acceptumque habuit, eumque *sibi* apponi iussit qui . . da . piscique operae i sc . contractantes anulum in alvo repertum ad regem gaudentes detulerunt. Tum Polycrates litteras ordine de casu et postliminio anuli perscriptas ad regem Amasim mittit. Amasis magnum et maturum malum Polycrati conjectans amicitiam hospitiumque renuntiat, ut alieno potius suo quam hospitei aut amico fortunam commutatam ipse minus aegre ferret. Sed somnium filiae Polycrati jam ante insigne obtigerat: Patrem suum videre sibi visa erat aperto atque edito loco sublimem ungui et lavi Jovis et Solis manibus. Harioli autem laetam et pinguem fortunam portendier somnio interpretati. Sed omne contra evenit. Nam deceptus ab Oroete Perse Polycrates captusque in crucem sublatus est. Ita ei crucianti somnium expeditum a et autur s bos hujus fabulae exorsus *habent* net interdum somin . . us nimia et diutina prosperitate nec, si quid malae pugnae acciderit, defetiscendum, sed victoriam brevi spera, namque semper in rebus gestis Romanis crebrae fortunarum commutationes exstiterunt.

Quis ita ignarus est bellicarum memoriarum, qui ignoret populum Romanum non minus cadendo quam caedendo imperium peperisse, legiones nostras saepe repulsas victasque astute evasisse? Quamvis saevi et feri et truces tauri subigi jungendo domarique potuere, praequam nostri exercitus stulte sub jugum missi sunt. Sed eosdem illos, qui sub jugum egerant, paulo post ante triumphum nostri egere et captivos sub corona vendidere. Post Cannensem cladem Poenus imperator anulorum aureorum, quos caesis equitibus Romanis Poeni detraxerant, tres modios cumulos misit Carthaginem. Sed non multo post Carthago capta est: Illis, qui anulos detraxerant, catenae inditae sunt. In ea pugna Scipio quantum hominum Poenorum Afrorumque cepit aut occidit aut in deditionem accepit! Si eorum linguas resecari imperasset, navem onustam linguis hostium Romam inegisset.

Quod te vix quicquam nisi raptim et furtim legere posse prae curis praesentibus scripsisti, fac memineris et cum animo tuo cogites C. Caesarem atrocissimo bello Gallico cum alia multa militaria tum etiam duos De analogia libros scrupulosissimos scripsisse, inter tela volantia de nominibus

declinandis, de verborum aspirationibus et rationibus inter classica et tubas. Cur igitur tu, Marce, non minore ingenio praeditus quam C. Caesar nec minus ordine insignis nec paucioribus exemplis aut documentis familiaribus instructus, non vincas negotia et invenias tibi met tempora non modo ad orationes et poemata et historias et praecepta sapientium legenda, sed etiam syllogismos, si perpeti potes, resolvendos?

Nunc ut orationem istam M. Tulli, quam tibi legendam misi, paucis commendem: Mihi profecto ita videtur neminem umquam neque Romana neque Graecorum lingua facundius in contione populi laudatum quam Cn. Pompeius in ista oratione laudatus est, ut mihi ille videatur non ita suis virtutibus ut Ciceronis laudibus Magnus nominr nuncupatus. Tum praeterea multa istic reperies praesentibus consiliis tuis capita apte considerata: De ducibus exercituum deligendis, de commodis sociorum, tutela provinciarum, de tum, quibus artibus praeditos esse oporteat imperatores . e . . et ceteros ge n si . . . iqatus rira malis tractatus est, quased c . . si pridem
. . . am intentionem n ac suevi nec sane . sssim . vel . . . velim quid ego intento majore vel aliquando reprehendere bel usquequaque . . . aver

Pl. n. n. adpositas ad orationem diligent. sssi dam et u. r
. lumina e n. ari nder nihil arbitror
profuturas . . . is dumtaxat et, si quis alius n. nra tutus
iobus quae . . . quod inper e. lim
endum orandumque, ne mihi suscenseas, quod non mea manu tibi
rescripserim, praesertim cum a te tua manu scriptas litteras acceperim. Digitis
admodum invalidis nunc utor et detrectantibus; tum haec epistula multum
verborum ingerebat, mea autem dextera manus hac tempestate paucarum
litterarum.

DE FERIIS ALSIENSIBUS

De feriis Alsiensibus 1

[226 VdH; 2.2 Haines]

Magistro meo.

Ferias apud Alsium quam feriatas egerimus, non scribam tibi, ne et ipse angaris et me objurges, mi magister. Lorium autem regressus domnulam meam antea sanam febricitantem repperi. Medicus dicit b si cito nobis melius . . . tenstu quoque viso . . . dius . . . mi magister etiam . . . valetudinis certior sim, nam oculis spero tecum tandem sanis et n . . . c uti. Vale, mi magister.

De feriis Alsiensibus 2

[226-228 VdH; 2.2-4 Haines]

Domino meo Antonino Augusto.

Ferias Alsienses tarde misi quod ni nbo
. uso do et per u em s . . .
bddai no . asper video bismamom . . . com repugnat babb satis
in novellae quid cantetur vineae atque r . . . e . ni, quid multarum rusticarum.
Catonem quoque in oratione adversus Lepidum verbum cantari solitum
commemorasse, cum ait “statuas positas Ochae atque Dionysodoro
effeminatis, qui magiras facerent”. Id in is impermeanta
. imicitur, quia velint post redire . . . vie in ea
. facit opportune brum *interim* cantandi ludendique
initium capiunt et paravit.

De feriis Alsiensibus 3

[227-233 VdH; 2.4-18 Haines]

Domino meo Antonino Aug(usto).

Quid? Ego ignoro ea te mente Alsium isse, ut animo morem gereres ibique ludo et joco et otio libero per quattriduum universum operam dares? Nec dubito, quin te ad ferias in secessu maritimo fruendas ita compararis: In sole meridiano, ut somno oboedires, cubans, deinde Nigrum vocares, libros introferre juberess; mox, ut te studium legendi incessisset, ut te Plauto expolires aut Accio expleres aut Lucretio delenires aut Ennio incenderes, in

horam istam Musarum propriam quintam redires inde . . . libris
 l ess mitteres; quod quis si sermonis ad te detulisset,
 audires; se . . . in . eua, quantum poteras, *ad* litus pergeres, pauc . s par val . . .
 a . ambires, vel, si videretur, aliquam navem conscenderes, ut
 aethere tranquillo in alto *te* portisculorum et remigum visu audituque
 oblectares; actutum inde balneas peteres, corpus ad sudorem uberem
 commoveres, convivium deinde regium agitares concheis omnium generum,
 Plautino “piscatu hamatili”, ut ille ait, “et saxatili”, altilibus veterum
 saginarum, matteis, pomis, bellariis, crustulis, vinis felicibus, calicibus
 perlucidis sine delatoria nota.

Quid hoc verbi sit, quaeras fortasse; accipe igitur: Ut homo ego multum
 facundus et Senecae Annaei sectator Faustiana vina de Sullae Fausti
 cognomento ‘felicia’ appello; calicem vero “sine delatoria nota” cum dico,
 sine puncto dico. Neque enim me decet, qui sim tam homo doctus, volgi
 verbis Falernum vinum aut calicem acentetum appellare. Nam qua te dicam
 gratia Alsium, maritimum et voluptarium locum et, ut ait Plautus, “locum
 lubricum” delegisse, nisei ut bene haberes genio utique verbo vetere faceres
 animo ‘volup’? Qua, malum, ‘volup’? Immo, si dimidiatis verbis verum
 dicendum est, uti tu animo faceres ‘vigil’ (vigilias dico), aut ut faceres ‘labo’,
 aut ut faceres ‘mole’ (labores et molestias dico). Tu umquam ‘volup’? Volpem
 facilius quis tibi quam voluptatem conciliaverit.

Dic, oro te, Marce, idcircone Alsium petisti, ut in prospectu maris esurires?
 Quid? Tu Lorii te fame et siti et negotiis agendis adfligere nequibas? In apopsi
 itane jucundiores tibi esse
 videntur; memini me ad vi pueros in balneis esse
 me *adulcente*
 libellis et epistulis rescribas et
 nibus et subo liber te non
 . per v . idis certe sun . . quisque in Favorinus
 ne beatus
 gravio
 est i mare ipsum ajunt, ubi alcedonia sint, fieri feriatum: An
 alcedo cum pullis suis tranquillo otio dignior est quam tu cum tuis liberis?

Quantum qu i tantum qu annis Alsium delphinos
 ludentis in mari e . . te ferias omnes “Atenim res plane jam

postulat”, num studium? Num laborem? Num *sudorem* perpetuum, num assiduuum, *num diurnum*, *num aeternum*? Quis arcus perpetuo intenditus? Quae fides perpetuo substrictae sunt? Oculi quidem convivendo durant, qui uno obnixi obtutu interissent. Hortus qui crebro pangitur, ope stercoreis *si* indiget, herbas et holuscula nihili procreat; frumento vero et solidis frugibus requietus ager deligitur; ubertas soli otio paratur.

Quid majores vestri, qui rem p(ublicam) et imperium Romanum magnis auctibus auxerunt? Proavus vester summus bellator tamen histrionibus interdum sese delectavit et praeterea potavit satis strenue; tamen ejus opera populus Romanus in triumphis mulsum saepius bibit. Avom item vestrum, doctum principem et navom et orbis terrarum non regendi tantum, sed etiam perambulandi diligentem, modulorum tamen et tibicinum studio devinctum fuisse scimus et praeterea prandiorum opimorum esorem optimum fuisse. Jam vero pater vester, divinus ille vir, providentia, pudicitia, frugalitate, innocentia, pietate, sanctimonia omnis omnium principum virtutes supergressus, tamen et palaestram ingressus et hamum instruxit et scurras risit.

Nihil de Cajo Caesare dico acerrimo Cleopatrae hoste, nihil de Augusto Liviae viro. Romulum ipsum urbis hujus conditorem, cum hostium ducem manu comminus conserta obruncavit cumque spolia opima Feretrio fixit, scilicet tenui victu usum putas? Profecto neque esuriens quisquam neque abstemius animum induxisset virgines adultas de spectaculis rapere. Quid? Numa senex sanctissimus nonne inter liba et decimas profanandas et suovetaurilia mactanda aetatem egit epulorum dictator, cenarum libator, feriarum promulgator? Saturatum et feriatum dico eum. *Num tu* esurialis ferias celebras? Nec Chrysippum tuum praeteribo, quem quotidie ferunt madescere solitum. Et pleraque de prelo vina satis prompta respersisse examine referto. Socratem autem ex Socraticorum sumposiis et dialogis et epistulis existimes hominem multum scitum et facetum fuisse, Socratem intelleges Aspasiae discipulum, Alcibiadi magistrum.

Jam si bellum indixtei ludo, otio, satietati, voluptati, at tu dormi saltem, quantum libero homini satis est. Intensius ad supremam requies sine si vix alias . . re . . mente lucernuidi cras ain tandem: Si ignem de caelo nemo surrupisset, sol non esset tibi satis ad judicandum? Nec cum animo tuo reputes cotidiano te mendacio adstringi, cum te diem cognitioni dare ais et

nocte cognoscis, reum sive condemnes sive absolvas mendax futurus? Si quempiam condemnas, “parum cavisse videtur” ais: Istuc quidem, si lucernae removeantur, nihil videri poterit. At tu, obsecro, vel joco vel serio te exorari a me patere, ne te somno defrudes utique terminos diei et noctis serves. Agere de finibus avide et graviter deos claros et nobiles, Vesperum et Luciferum, puta. Utrique demonstrationem sui queique limitis ostendunt. Horum cognitioni interesse postulat Somnus, nam se quoque adfinem esse negotio et adtingi injuria ait. Vellem autem tantum mihi vigoris aut studii adesse, quantum adfuit cum illa olim nugalia conscripsi ‘Laudem Fumi et Pulveris’. Ne ego somni laudem ex summis opibus conscripsissem! Nunc quoque, si tibi fabulam brevem libenti est audire, audi:

Jovem patrem ferunt, cum res humanas a primordio conderet, aevum vitae medium uno ictu percussum in duas partis undique paris diffidisse: partem alteram luce, alteram tenebris amicisse, diem noctemque appellasse, noctique otium, diei negotium tradidisse. Tum Somnus necdum natus erat et omnes pervigiles aetatem agebant, sed quies nocturna vigilantibus pro somno nox ut lex erat promulgata. Paulatim deinde, ut sunt ingenia hominum inquieta et agitandi ac turbandi cupida, noctes diesque negotiis exercebant, horam otio nullam inperitabant. Tum Jovem ferunt, ubi jam jurgia et vadimonia nocturna sisti et noctes quoque comperendinari videat, cum corde suo agitasse de suis germanis fratribus unum praeficere, qui nocti atque otio hominum curaret. Neptunum multas et graves curas maritimas causatum, ne fluctus terras totas cum montibus obruerent neve coorti tum venti cuncta funditus percellerent, silvas et sata radicitus haurirent. Ditem quoque patrem causatum multa opera multaque cura templa infera aegre coerceri, amnibus et paludibus et stagnis Stygiis Acheruntem aegre commoeniri, canem denique custodem apposuisse umbris territandis, quae aufugere ad superos cuperent, eique cani trinas latrandi fauces ac trinos hiatus trinasque dentium formidines addidisse. Tum Jovem deos alios percontatum animadvertisse gratiam vigiliae aliquantum pollere: Junonem plerosque partus nocturnos ciere, Minervam artium atque artificum magistram multum vigilari velle, Martem nocturnas eruptiones et insidias mature locare, Venerem vero et Liberum multo maxime pernoctantibus favere. Capit tum consilium Juppiter Somni procreandi eumque in deum numerum adsciscit, nocti et otio praeficit eique claves oculorum tradit. Herbarum quoque sucos, quibus corda hominum Somnus

sopiret, suis Juppiter manibus temperat; securitatis et voluptatis herbae de caeli nemore advectae, de Acheruntis autem prateis leti herba petita. Ejus leti guttam unam aspersisse minimam, quanta dissimulantis lacrima esse solet. “Hoc”, inquit, “suco soporem hominibus per oculorum repagula inriga: Cuncti, quibus inrigaris, ilico fusi procumbent proque mortuis immobiles jacebunt. Tum tu ne timeto, nam vivent et paulo post, ubi evigilaverint, exsurgent.” Post id Juppiter alas, non ut Mercurio talares, sed ut Amori umeris exaptas Somno adnexuit: “Non enim te solis ac talari ornatu ad populas hominum et palpebras incurrere oportet curruli strepitu et cum fremitu equestri, sed placide et clementer pinnis teneris in modum hirundinum advolare nec ut columbae alis plaudere.” Ad hoc, quo jucundior hominibus Somnus esset, donat ei multa somnia amoena, ut, quo studio quisque devinctus esset, ut histrionem in somnis fautor spectaret, ut tibicinem audiret, ut aurigae agitandi monstraret, milites somnio vincerent, imperatores somnio triumpharent, peregrinantes somnio redirent. Ea somnia plerumque ad verum convertunt.

Igitur, Marce, si quo tibi somnio hinc opus est, censeo, libens dormias tantisper, dum, quod cupis, quaque exoptas, vigilantibus tibi obtingat.

De feriis Alsiensibus 4

[234 VdH; 2.18 Haines]

Magistro meo salutem.

Modo recepi epistolam tuam, qua confestim fruar. Nunc enim imminebant officia *δυσπαράλητα*. Interim quod cupis, mi magister, breviter ut occupatus parvolam nuntio nostram melius valere et intra cubiculum discurrere.

Dictatis his legi litteras Alsienses meo tempore, mi magister, cum alii cenarent, ego cubarem tenui cibo contentus hora noctis secunda, “multum”, inquis, “cohortatione mea”. Multum, mi magister, nam verbis tuis adquievi saepiusque legam, ut saepius adquiescam. Ceterum verecundia officii, quae sit res imperiosa, quis te magis norit? Sed oro te, illud quid est, quod in fine epistolae manum condoluisse dicis? Illatenus dolueris, mi magister, si me compotem voti *di* boni faciunt. Vale, mi magister optime, φιλόστοργε ἄνθρωπε.

DE NEPOTE AMISSO

De nepote amisso 1

[235 VdH; 2.220 Haines]

Magistro meo salutem.

Modo cognovi de casu. Cum autem in singulis articularum tuorum doloribus torqueri soleam, mi magister, quid opinaris me pati, cum animum doles? Nihil conturbato mihi aliud in mentem venit quam rogare te, ut conserves mihi dulcissimum magistrum, in quo plura solacia vitae hujus habeo, *quam* quae tibi tristitiae istius possunt ab ullo contingere.

Mea manu non scripsi, quia vesperi loto tremebat etiam manus. Vale, mi jucundissime magister.

De nepote amisso 2

[235 VdH; 2, 222 Haines]

Antonino Augusto Fronto.

Multis hujuscemodi maeroribus fortuna me per omnem vitam meam exercuit. Nam ut alia mea acerba omittam, quinque amisi liberos miserrima quidem condicione temporum meorum; nam quinque omnes, unumquemque semper unicum amisi, has orbitatis vices perpersus, ut numquam mihi nisi orbatō filius nasceretur. Ita semper sine ullo solacio residuo liberos amisi, cum recenti luctu procreavi. Verum illos ego luctus toleravi fortius, quibus egomet ipse solus cruciabar; namque meus animus meomet dolori obnixē oppositus quasi solitario certamine unus uni, par pari resistebat. At nunc amisso nepote luctus mihi dolore filiae, dolore generi multiplicatur: Meum motum pertuli, meorum luctum ferre nequeo; Victorini mei lacrimis tabesco, conliquesco. Saepe etiam expostulo cum deis immortalibus et *eos ita* jurgio compello: Victorinum pietate, mansuetudine, veritate, innocentia, humanitate, omnium denique optimarum artium praecipuum virum acerbissima morte fili adflictum, hoccine ullo modo aequom aut justum fuit? Si providentia res gubernantur, hoc idem recte provisum est? Si fato cuncta humana decernuntur, hoccine fato decerni *debut*? Nullum ergo inter bonos ac malos fortunarum discrimen erit? Nulla deis, nulla fatis dijudicatio est, quali viro filius eripiatur? Facinerosus aliqui et scelestus mortalis, quem ipsum numquam nasci melius foret, incolumes liberos educit, in morte sua superstites relinquit. Victorinus,

vir sanctus, cujus similes quam plurimos gigni optimum publicum fuerit, carissimo filio privatus est. Quae, malum, providentia tam inique prospicit? Fata a fando appellata ajunt: Hoccine est recte fari? Poetae autem colus et fila Fatis adsignant: Nulla profecto tam sit inopportuna et insciens lanifica, quae erili togae solidum et nodosum, servilei autem subtile et tenue subtemen neverit. Bonos viros luctu adfici, malos re familiari incolumi frui neque mensum neque pensum Fatorum lanificum duco.

Nisi forte alius quidem nos error jactat et ignari rerum, quae mala sunt, quasi prospera concupiscimus, contra quae bona sunt, pro adverseis aversamur, et mors ipsa, quae omnibus luctuosa videtur, pausam laborum adfert et sollicitudinum et calamitatum miserrimisque corporis vinculis liberatos ad tranquilla nos et amoena et omnibus bonis referta animarumque conciliabula travehit. Hoc ego ita esse facilius crediderim quam cuncta humana aut nulla aut iniqua providentia regi. Quodsi mors gratulanda potius est hominibus quam lamentanda, quanto quisque eam natu minor adeptus est, tanto beatior et deis acceptior existimandus est, ocius corporis malis exutus, ocius ad honores liberae animae usurpandos excitus. Quod tamen verum sit licet, parvi nostra refert, qui desideramus amissos, nec quicquam nos animarum immortalitas consolatur, qui carissimis nostris, dum vivimus, caremus. Istum statum, vocem, formam, animam liberum quaerimus, faciem defunctorum miserandam maeremus, os obseratum, oculos eversos, colorem undique deletum. Si maxime esse animas immortalis constet, erit hoc philosophis disserendi argumentum, non parentibus desiderandi remedium.

Sed utcumque sunt ista divinitus ordinata, mihi quidem neutiquam diutinam adferent sollicitudinem, cui tam propinqua mors. Sive in aeternum extinguimur, olim cupienti mihi tandem eta d
. isto . . . an . . . m sum viat tua c
. . . s l . feriae t
. s ensi magni . . . tat and . c tumeo ut meus
. quod nulla n lon . . vitam nepotis sitiunt
jam . . . amantis . . n tam sapientis minor
. n qui neque nis
. e
. tan certam rac . . diu pra jurn .
. . a es pro vita . . . gies

et quid . . . etur . . . temp oribus . . . genus o eo sid
. . . s neque arborum neque tus . . . cis . . . es
eodem tempore eg . . . n . . mer est quo ea ad vendemiam vir agn . nome .
. . . . illi eodem isto tempore . . on . . an nosse ise . . s . . un soland
. a . . aderet . . s sum neque est asuteer aspetide nequivi prae
fletu ac dolore. Meus etiam jam hinc me dulcissimus nepos, quem ipse sinu
meo educo, hic est profecto, qui me magis magisque lacerat prorsus et
excruciat. Namque in hujus facie illum amissum contemplor, exemplum oris
imaginar, sonum vocis eundem animo fingo. Hanc sibi dolor meus picturam
commentatur; verum defuncti voltum ignorans, dum veri similem *conjecto*,
maceror.

Sapiet mea filia; viro suo omnium quantum est hominum optimo,
adquiescit. Is eam consolabitur pariter lacrimando, pariter suspirando, *pariter*
loquendo, pariter conticiscendo. Senex ego parens indigne consolabor.
Dignius enim foret ipsum me ante obisse. Neque ulla poetarum carmina aut
sapientium praecepta tantum promoverint ad luctum filiae meae sedandum et
dolorem leniendum quantum mariti *vox ex ore* carissimo et pectore
junctissimo profecta.

Me autem consolatur aetas mea prope jam edita et morti proxuma. Quae
cum aderit, si noctis, si lucis id tempus erit, caelum quidem consalutabo
discedens et, quae mihi conscius sum, protestabor. Nihil in longo vitae meae
spatio a me admissum, quod dedecori aut probro aut flagitio foret; nullum in
aetate agunda avarum, nullum perfidum facinus meum extitisse; contraque
multa liberaliter, multa amice, multa fideliter, multa constanter saepe etiam
cum periculo capitis consulta. Quom fratre optimo concordissime vixi, quem
patris vestri bonitate summos honores adeptum gaudeo, vestra vero amicitia
satis *quietum* et multum securum video. Honores, quos ipse adeptus sum,
numquam improbis rationibus concupivi. Animo potius quam corpori curando
operam dedi. Studia doctrinae rei familiari meae praetuli: Pauperem me quam
ope cujusquam adjutum, postremo egere quam poscere malui. Sumptu
numquam prodigo fui, quaestu interdum necessario. Verum dixi sedulo, verum
audivi libenter. Potius duxi neglegi quam blandiri, tacere quam fingere,
infrequens amicus esse quam frequens adsentator. Pauca petii, non pauca
merui. Quod cuique potui, pro copia commodavi. Merentibus promptius,
immerentibus audacius opem tuli. Neque me parum gratus quispiam repertus

segniorem effecit ad beneficia quaecumque possem prompte inperitenda, neque ego unquam ingratius offensior fui.

Eas qui ob piri . . . tos mihi ne obaeratos in *reliquis* nominibus cum *voluntate* . nimmu deputavi; cuperem equidem quod d . . im pace metui s
. alesum be b sine umque beate at jam quare terrenis tr . .
. s otii . . mo male ti . ent lat m neminem s . s ob
. ireetum . . meum reli finem eam
jodum e . . . teneo si jussu . . neme ae . . . o sine for
. ae is vobis estis si male
ojerandisius . . in partibus pipasse ama . . sn . ope si usquam dolui; nemini
umquam, si vobis carior esset, invidi; *omnem* operam dedi, ne quisquam . . .
. s aut in *amicitia* vestra . e . . usi

Sentio . . n . . s . ebr . . res sum quam . . s . . lae modo s . . s . . *acerbo*
nepotis mei leto dolens et statu mentis ve . . uis . is ser . . s
dus et perturbatus an . . lius ferebat m morte te vir ni . ine
ade mn ss n bem . . . nes uop em
meam . . . si neniam funebrem pr . . s vivisi
. meos m . . is . . ers . . es promere.

De nepote amisso 3

[239 VdH; 2, 232 Haines]

Magistro *Frontoni* sal(utem).

Doleo, *mi magister*; *vere*; aliud enim nihil reperio, quod dicam aut *prodam*
tibi. *Mihi* personam induere videor, *si* consoler e conexu veritatis nostrae, cum
ipse indigeam solacio. Di, *quaeso*, filiam tuam, generum, *nepotes* . in . o
mes . *conservent* a . . inei . . . atque etiam domo . . m . aut vestra. Vale, o *mi*
dulcissime magister.

De nepote amisso 4

[240 VdH; 2, 232 Haines]

Domino meo Fronto.

Sint nent . . . e . tum pr m . n n
. . is inseutir . e . . ue . . . cem . . tiore et vu . . te . . . teus dic sa . .
. tuivant . . n to . . s . atio obs
. . . . s sum nunc *demum* quorum manibest cur . e . . . *sanitate* misera mu . . e .

... no s um . o
... nia in te atinvolumir illo amisso vastitatem *domus* meae
odi am ta . eta non n . . . tesi . . . o am . n .
contentus . . . o multum et graviter male valui, mi Marce carissime.
Dein casibus miserrimis adflictus sum: Uxorem amisi, nepotem in Germania
amisi, miserum me, decimanum nostrum amisi. Ferreus si essem, plura
scribere non possem isto in tempore. Librum misi tibi, quem pro omnibus
haberes.

ARION

[241 VdH; 1, 54 Haines]

Arion Lesbios, proinde quod Graecorum memoria est, cithara et dithyrambo primus, Corintho, ubi frequens incolebat, secundum quaestum profectus magnis divitiis per oram Siciliae atque Italiae partis Corinthum Tarento regredi parabat. Socios navalis Corinthios potissimum delegit; eorum navem audacter re bona maxime onerat. Nave in altum provecta cognoscit socios, quae veherent cupidos potiri, necem sibi machinari. Eos precibus fatigat aurum omne sibi haberent, unam sibi animam sinerent. Postquam id frustra orat, aliam tamen veniam impetrat, ut in exitu vitae, quantum posset, cantaret. Id praedones in lucro duxere praeter spolia summum artificem audire, cujus vocem praeterea nemo umquam postilla auscultaret. Ille vestem induit auro intextam itemque citharam insignem. Tum pro puppi aperto maxime atque edito loco constitit sociis inde consulto per navem ceteram dispersis. Ibi Arion studio inpenso cantare orditur scilicet mari et caelo artis suae supremum commemoramentum. Carminis fine cum verbo in mare desilit, delphinus excipit, sublimem avehit, navi praevertit, Taenaro exponit, quantum delphino fas erat, in extimo litore.

Arion inde Corinthum proficiscitur et homo et vestis et cithara ac vox incolumis. Periandrum regem Corinthium, cui per artem cognitus acceptusque diu fuerat, accedit; ordine memorat rem gestam in navi et postea in mari. Rex homini credere, miraculo addubitare, navem et socios navalis, dum reciperent, opperiri. Postquam cognovit portum inventos, sine tumultu acciri jubet; voltu comi, verbis lenibus percontatur, numquidnam super Arione Lesbio comperissent. Illi facile respondent Tarenti vidisse fortunatissimum mortalem secundo rumore pretia quaerere, laete esse, domi cantare; quo diutius amore atque lucro et laudibus retineri. Cum haec ita *dicerent*, Arion inrupit *ipse* eodem momento *sicut* ab puppi steterat aperte veste auro intexta, cithara insigni. Praedones inopinato visu consternati, cum neque quicquam postilla negare aut non credere aut deprecari ausi sunt, delphini facinus mirabantur tale. Amico delphino Taenari salvus anniti visitur: Delphino residens homo, parva figura atque rei argumento magis quam simulacro composita.

ADDITAMENTUM EPISTULARUM VARIARUM ACEPHALUM

additamentum 1

= ad M. Caesarem 2.3

additamentum 2

= ad M. Caesarem 2.15

additamentum 3

= ad M. Caesarem 2.1

additamentum 4

[242 VdH; 1.264 Haines]

Παρά Ἀππιανοῦ Φρόντωνι.

Οὐδὲ σήμερον ἐδυνήθην σε ἰδεῖν διὰ τὴν γαστέρα νυκτὸς ἐνοχλοῦσαν ἕως ἄρτι κοιμηθεῖς. ἃ δὲ ἀγρυπνῶν ἠπόρουν, οὐ κατέσχον οὐδ' ἀνεβαλόμην, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλῶν ὀλίγα σοι γέγραφα. σὺ δέ, εἰ μὲν δίκαιά ἐστιν, ὥς δικαίοις, εἰ δὲ σχολαστικά, ὥς ἀπλοῖς, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε ὥς λυπουμενῶ καὶ παρακαλοῦντι πείσθητι καὶ εἴξον.

Εἰκὸς ἔπεσθαι τοῖς κοινοῖς τὰ ἰδιωτικά. εὐθύνομεν γοῦν τὰ ἴδια πρὸς ἐκεῖνα, καὶ ὁ νόμος οὕτω κελεύει. πῶς οὖν αἱ μὲν πόλεις οὐκ ὀκνοῦσι λαμβάνουσαι παρὰ τῶν διδόντων ἀναθήματά τε καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀργύριον αὐτοπολιτῶν τε καὶ ξένων, ἥδη δὲ τινὰς καὶ αὐτοὺς πῶς ὑποδιδόντας, φίλος δὲ δὴ παρὰ φίλου λαβεῖν ὀκνεῖ παρακαλοῦντος; καὶ ὅτι θεοὶ δὲ τῷ νόμῳ τῶν πόλεων προστιθενται ταῦτά παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καθ' ἃ δεικνύουσιν οἱ θησαυροὶ τῶν θεῶν. καὶ οἱ φίλοι δὲ ἐκ τῶν διαθηκῶν λαμβάνειν οὐκ ὀκνοῦσιν. καὶ διὰ τί οὖν ἐκ μὲν διαθήκης ἂν τις λάβοι, παρὰ δὲ τῶν περιόντων οὐ λάβοι, ὅποτε καὶ μεῖζον ταῦτ' ἔχει τὸ δεῖγμα τῆς προθυμίας; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλον ἄλλου προτιθέασιν, οἱ δὲ περιόντες ἑαυτῶν τοὺς φίλους προτιθέασιν. καὶ ἥδιον παρὰ τοῦ περιόντος λαβεῖν, ὅτι καὶ μαρτυρῆσαι περιόντι δυνατόν ἐστι καὶ ἀμείψασθαι. πάλιν ξένιον μὲν οὔτε θεοῖς οὔτε πόλει πέμπεται, τὰ σεμνότερα δ' αἰ τοῖς σεμνοτέροις.

Ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσὶ ταῦτα βαρύτερα λαμβάνειν; τί γάρ ἐστι φιλίας καὶ τιμῆς

βαρύτερον, ὦν οὐδ' ἴσως γ' ἄρειον οὐδέν ἐστιν; τί δὲ καὶ βαρὺ ἦν ὅλως ἢ τί ἂν ἐγὼ βαρὺ ἔχοιμι; οὐδ' ἂν μὲν ἐργασαίμην οὐδὲν οὐδὲ πριαίμην οὐδέποτε, οἶσθα, τι ἅμα μισθὸν ἔχον, ἐξ οἴκου, φασίν, ἐς οἶκον μετατεθέν. ἐννόησον δὲ κάκεῖνο, ὅση μὲν ἡδονὴ τῷ πέμψαντι ληφθέντων, ὅση δὲ λύπη μὴ ληφθέντων εἰσιγγίνεται, εἰ τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ μετὰ πο προσιέναι σοι. πιστεύεις δὲ δίκαιον εἶναι τὸν νόμον τῶν τε πόλεων καὶ θεῶν καὶ φίλων φίλων δὲ οὐχ ὥς τούτων ἐπιδεικνύντων θράσος εὐνοίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ὑπὸ δέους, εἰ ἐπέπεμψα τὸ πρὶν ἐπιτρέψῃς. σὺ δὲ μὴ δευτερώσης ᾧ γε ἔδει μηδ' ἅπαξ.

additamentum 5

[244 VdH; 1.268 Haines]

Ἀππιανῷ παρὰ Φρόντωνος

Οὐκ ἀπορήσει μὲν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος πιθανῶν λόγων ὅστις πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον ἐνθύμημα τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ προτεθέντων ἐνίστατο, ὥς μὴ δέοι ἔπεσθαι τοῖς κοινοῖς τὰ ἴδια. πολλὰ γὰρ ἔθῃ καὶ νόμιμα κοινῇ ταῖς πόλεσιν καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον εὐρήσομεν οὐχ ὅμοια. μάθοις δ' ἂν προσέχων ταῖς τε δίκαις καὶ τοῖς ἀγῶσιν τοῖς δημοσίοις καὶ τοῖς ιδιωτικοῖς· ἐνθα οὔτε ὁ τόπος τῶν δικαστηρίων οὔτε τῶν δικαζόντων ὁ ἀριθμὸς οὔτε ἡ τάξις τῶν φάσεων καὶ κλήσεων οὔτε τοῦ ὕδατος τὸ μέτρον οὔτε τὰ προστιμήματα τῶν κατεγνωσμένων τὰ αὐτά, ἀλλὰ πλεῖστον ὅσον διήνεγκεν τὰ δημόσια τῶν ιδίων, καὶ ὅτι τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἀναπεπετάσθαι προσήκει τὰς πύλας εἰσιέναι τε τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ ἐξιέναι, ὅποτε βούλοιτο· ἐκάστω δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν ιδιωτῶν, εἰ μὴ φυλάττοι τὰς θύρας καὶ πάνυ ἐγρηγοροίῃ ὁ θυρωρὸς εἵργων μὲν τῆς εἰσόδου τοὺς μηδὲν προσήκοντας, τοῖς δὲ οἰκέταις οὐκ ἐπιτρέπων ἀδεῶς ὅποτε βούλοιντο ἔξω βαδίζειν, οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς οἰκουροῖτο τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, καὶ στοαὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλση καὶ βωμοὶ καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ λουτρὰ τὰ μὲν δημόσια πᾶσιν καὶ προῖκα ἀνεῖται, τὰ δὲ τῶν ιδιωτῶν ὑπὸ σιδηρᾷ κλειδί καὶ τινι θυροφύλακι, καὶ μισθὸν ἐκλέγουσιν παρὰ τῶν λουομένων. οὐδὲ τὰ δεῖπνα δὲ ὅμοια τὰ ιδιωτικὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν πρυτανείῳ· οὐδὲ ὁ ἵππος ὃ τε ιδιωτικὸς καὶ ὁ δημόσιος· οὐδὲ ἡ πορφύρα τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν· οὐδὲ ὁ στέφανος ὁ τῶν ρόδων τῶν οἰκόθεν καὶ ὁ τῆς ἐλαίας τῆς Ὀλυμπίαιςιν.

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἑάσειν μοι δοκῶ καὶ χαριεῖσθαι σοι τὸ δεῖν ἔπεσθαι τοῖς δημοσίοις τὰ ιδιωτικά. χαρισάμενος δὲ τοῦτο οὐκέτι χαρισαίμην ἂν τοῦτοις ἐν . . . πεισ . . . ολεῖν . . ἐπιτρέπειν χρῆσθαι. †τί δὴ τοῦτο ἦν χρὴ μέγала καὶ

πολλῆς τιμῆς ἄξια δῶρα παρὰ τῶν φίλων δέχεσθαι. ταῦτα προστάσσω ἐν παράδειγμα ἐκάλεις τὸ τὰς πόλεις μεγάλα δῶρα παρ' ἀλλήλων προσίεσθαι, αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ ἀμφισβητούμενον σφετεριζόμενος, ὃ φιλότης. ὁ γὰρ τοὺς ιδιώτας ἐγὼ φάσκων μὴ δεῖν μεγάλα δῶρα παρ' ἀλλήλων λαμβάνειν, τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἂν εἴποιμι καὶ περὶ τῶν πολέων, ὡς οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις δεοὶ λαμβάνειν· σὺ δὲ ὡς τοῦτο προσῆκον ταῖς πόλεσιν λαβὼν εἰς ἀπόδειξιν φέρεις τοῦ καὶ τοῖς ιδιώταις προσήκοντος. τὸ δὲ ζητούμενον μὴ δεῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων ἀποδεικνύειν φήσας ἄν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο φῆς, ὅτι λαμβάνουσιν πολλαὶ πόλεις τὰ τοιαῦτα δῶρα, φαίην ἂν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ιδιωτῶν πολλοὶ λαμβάνουσι τὰ τοιαῦτα, ζητοῦμεν δὲ, εἰ ὀρθῶς καὶ προσηκόντως λαμβάνουσιν. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ζήτημα ἀπὸ τῶν ιδιωτῶν ἀρξάμενον διήκει καὶ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν δίκαια ποιῶν ἐν ζητήματος μέρει διαλείψεις ἀμφισβητήσιμον, τὸ τῶν πόλεων λέγων. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο σ' ἀγνοεῖν οἶμαι, ὡς αἱ πλείσταί γε τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων καὶ εὐνομουμένων πόλεων οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τὰ μεγάλα δῶρα· ὥσπερ ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις πολλὰ πολλάκις παρὰ πλείστων πεμπόμενα οὐ προσήκατο, ἡ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βαρύτερα τῶν προσηκόντων ἐκλέγονσα οὐ πάννυ τι ὦνατο.

Τὸ δὲ γε τῶν θεῶν παράδειγμα, ὅτι δῶρα καὶ ἀναθήματα θεοὶ δέχονται, καὶ πάννυ σοι διὰ βραχέων εἰρημένον, ἐν ἴσῳ τάχει ἀπολύσασθαι πειράσομαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ προσκυνεῖσθαι μοι προσῆκεν μήτε θεῷ μήτε αὖ βασιλεῖ Περσῶν ὄντε.

Πιθανώτατον δὲ μὴ Δία τὸ τῶν διαθηκῶν ὑπὴνεγκας, τί δὴ ποτε ἐκ διαθηκῶν καὶ τὰ μεγάλα λαμβάνοντες παρὰ τῶν ζώντων τὰ τηλικαῦτα οὐ προσησόμεθα· φθάνεις δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτὸς ὑποβάλλων. οἱ μὲν γάρ, ὡς σὺ φῆς, ἄλλον ἄλλου προτιθέασιν οἱ κατὰ διαθήκας χαριζόμενοι· φημί δὴ παρὰ τούτων λαμβάνειν προσήκειν. οἱ δ' αὖ ζῶντες, ὡς σὺ φῆς, ἑαυτῶν τοὺς φίλους, οἷς χαρίζονται, προτιμῶσιν· δι' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο φημί δεῖν τὰ πεμπόμενα μὴ προσίεσθαι. βαρὺ γὰρ ὄντως καὶ ὑπεροπτικὸν καὶ τυραννικόν, ὡς ἀληθῶς, τὸ δέχεσθαι τὰς τοιαύτας προτιμήσεις, ἐν αἷς ὁ τιμῶν ἕτερον δηλὸς ἐστίν αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀτιμάζων καὶ ἐν δευτέρῳ τιθεὶς τοῦ προτιμωμένου. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἵππον ἀναβαίην ἂν, ἀφ' οὗ καταβὰς αὐτός τις καὶ βαδίζων ἐμὲ δὴ ἱππάζεσθαι ἀξιοίη· οὐδὲ ἐν θεάτρῳ καθεζοίμην ἂν ἄλλου μοι ὑπανισταμένου· οὐδὲ ἱμάτιον δεξαίμην ἂν ἐν χειμῶνος ὥρα, εἴ τις ἀποδυόμενος ῥιγῶν μὲν αὐτός, ἐμὲ δὲ ἀμφιεννύοι. οἰκειότερος γὰρ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος αὐτῷ καὶ προτιμᾶσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ δικαιοτέρος.

Φῆς δὲ ξένια μὴ πέμπεσθαι θεοῖς. ἢ οὐχὶ ξένια τὰ ψαυστὰ πόπανα καὶ τὸ

μέλι καὶ ὁ οἶνος ὁ σπενδόμενος καὶ τὸ γάλα καὶ τὰ σπλάγγνα τὰ τῶν ἱερέων;
καὶ ὁ λιβανωτὸς δὲ ξένιον θεοῦ.

Ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ σοφῶς καὶ πιθανῶς πάνυ δημοσίων τε καὶ
θείων καὶ διαθηκῶν πέρι προτεθέντα ἐνθυμήματα. τὰ δὲ παρ' ἐμοῦ ταῦτα
εἰρήσθω διὰ βραχέων· ὅσα αἰτεῖν ἀναιδὲς καὶ φιλοκερδὲς καὶ πλεονεκτικόν,
ταῦτα καὶ παρ' ἐκόντος λαμβάνειν ὁμοίως ἀναιδοῦς τινὸς καὶ φιλοκερδοῦς
ἀνδρὸς καὶ πλεονέκτου· αἰτεῖν δέ γε τὰ μεγάλα ἀναιδές, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον γε
λαμβάνειν, καὶ οὐδὲν διήνεγκεν εἰ παρ' ἐκόντος λαμβάνοι τινὰ ἢ ἀρνοῦντος . .
. υται οὐκ ἐν τῷ αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ λαμβάνειν· οὐδέ γε τὰ
τοιαῦτα δῶρα χρή τινα ἐλέσθαι, ἃ τοὺς μὲν πέμποντας πενεστέρους ἀποδείξει,
τοὺς δὲ λαμβάνοντας πλουσιω τέρους παρασκευάσει. ἐκάτερον δὲ τοῦτο ἐν
τοῖς μεγάλοις δώροις ἔνεστιν. εἰ γοῦν ἀποτιμήσεις γίνοντο, σὺ μὲν ὁ πέμψας
τοὺς δύο τούτους παῖδας μικροτέραν, ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ λαβὼν μείζω τὴν οὐσίαν
ἀποφανοῦμαι. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν εὐκαταφρόνητος οὔτε ἐν ἀποτιμήσει χρημάτων
οὔτε ἐν ἀντι δόσει οὐσίας οὔτε ἐν ἀπογραφῇ τέλους οὔτε ἐν καταβολῇ φόρου
ὁ τῶν δύο δούλων ἀριθμός. Ὁ δὲ τὰ βαρύτερα δῶρα πέμπων οὐχ ἥττον λυπεῖ
τοῦ βαρεῖαν πέμποντος ἐπὶ τὸν συνσφαιρίζοντα ἢ μεγάλην κύλην προπίνοντος
τῷ συνπότῃ· εἰς γὰρ μέθην, οὐκ εἰς ἡδονὴν προπίνειν ἔοικεν. ὥσπερ δὲ τὸν
οἶνον ἐν τοῖς σώφροσιν συνποσίοις ὀρῶμεν κιννάμενον ἀκράτῳ μὲν πάνυ
ὀλίγῳ, πλείστῳ δὲ τῷ ὕδατι, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὰ δῶρα κιννάειν προσῆκεν πολλῇ
μὲν φιλοφροσύνῃ, ἐλαχίστῳ δὲ ἀναλώματι. τίσιν γὰρ ἂν φαίμεν ἀρμόττειν τὰ
πολυτελῆ δῶρα; ἄρα γε τοῖς πένησιν; ἀλλὰ πέμπειν οὐ δύνανται· ἢ τοῖς
πλουσίοις; ἀλλὰ λαμβάνειν οὐ δέονται. τοῖς μὲν οὖν μεγάλοις δώροις τὸ
συνεχὲς οὐ πρόσεστιν, ἢ ἐκπεσεῖν ἀνάγκη τῶν ὑπάρ χόντων, εἴ τις μεγάλα τε
πέμποι καὶ πολλάκις. τοῖς δὲ μικροῖς δώροις τό τε συνεχὲς πρόσεστιν καὶ τὸ
ἀμετάγνωστον τιν . δ εἰδι τελέσαι μικρὰ πέμψαντι.

Ὁμολογήσαις δ' ἂν καὶ τοῦτο, ὥς, εἴ τις ἑαυτῷ μὲν ἔπαινον παρασκευάζοι,
ἕτερον δὲ ἐπαίνου ἀποστεροίη, οὐ δίκαιος. σὺ δὲ μεγάλα δῶρα πέμπων σαντῷ
μὲν ἔπαινον παρασκευάζεις ὥς μεγαλοφρόνως χαριζόμενος, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐπαίνου
ἀποστερεῖς προσίσεσθαι βιαζόμενος. δόξαιμι γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς μεγαλόφρων τὰ
τηλικαῦτα μὴ προσέμενος. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μικροῖς τῶν δώρων ἴσος ὁ ἔπαινος, τῷ
μὲν πέμψαντι ὅτι οὐκ ἡμέλησεν, τῷ δὲ λαβόντι ὅτι οὐχ ὑπερηφάνησεν,
ματευσάμην δ' ἂν εἰκότι τῷ χαλεπῷ χρώμενος, ὥς καὶ σὺ εἰ αὐτὸ τοῦτο
δῶρον ἐμοῦ πέμψαντος οὐκ ἂν ἔλαβες, πῶς παρὰ σοῦ τοὺς πεμφθέντας παῖδας
ἡδόμενος προσηκαίμην ἂν

Γλαῦκος πάλαι
.
. χρύσεια τῶν χαλκείων καὶ τὰ ἐκατόμβοια τῶν
ἐννεαβοίων ἀμείβοντος. πᾶσα μὲν γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὸν ἀμειβόμενον ἢ πολὺ
πλέονος ἄξια ἀντιπέμπειν καὶ Ὅμηρῳ μάρτυρι τὰς φρένας δοκεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ
Διὸς βεβλάφθαι ἢ τὰ μείω ἀντιπέμποντα μὴ δίκαια ποιεῖν. τρίτον δὲ καὶ
δικαιότατον ἃ πέμπεται τῷ αὐτῷ *μέτρῳ* καὶ τοῖς ἴσοις δώροις ἀμείβεσθαι·
τοῦτο δὲ ὁ ποιῶν ὁμοιότατος ἂν εἴη ἐμοὶ τῷ αὐτῷ δὴ τὰ πεμφθέντα
ἀποπέμποντι.

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν φίλῳ πρὸς τὸν φίλτατον πεπαίχθω. τροφεὶ δὲ
καὶ λογιζόμενος . . μείζονα μο . αὐτὰ παρέξει.

additamentum 6

= ad M. Caesarem 3.9

additamentum 7

[249 VdH; 1.30 Haines]

Have, mi magister optume.

Ave perge, quantum libet, comminare et argumentorum globis criminare:
Numquam tu tamen erasten tuum, me dico depuleris; nec ego minus amare me
Frontonem praedicabo minusque amabo, quo tu tam variis opitulandum ac
largiendum esse. Ego hercule te ita amore depereo neque deterreor isto tuo
dogmate ac, si magis eris alieis non amantibus opportunus et promptus, ego
tamen amabo atque usque amabo. Ceterum quod ad sensuum densitatem,
quod ad inventionis argutiam, quod ad aemulationis tuae felicitatem adtinet,
nolo quicquam dicere te multo placentis illos sibi et provocantis Atticos
antevenisse, ac tamen nequeo quin dicam. Amo enim et hoc denique
amantibus vere tribuendum esse censeo, quod victoris τῶν ἐρωμένων magis
gauderent. Vicimus igitur, vicimus, inquam. Num
. praestabilius sub laquearibus quam sub platanis,
intra pomerium quam extra murum, sine deliciis quam ipsa Lai proxime
adsistente habitanteve disputari? Nequeo retejaclari, utra re magis caveam,
quod de Lysia orator saeculi huius dogmam tulerit an quod magister meus de
 Platone. Illud equidem non temere adjuravero: Si quis iste re vera Phaeder
fuit, si umquam is a Socrate afuit, non magis Socraten Phaedri desiderio quam

me per istos dies ('dies' dico? 'menses', inquam) tui adspectus cupidine arsisse. Tua epistula haec fecit, ne ille Diona esset quin tantum amet nisi confestim tuo amore corripitur.

Vale mihi, maxima res sub caelo, gloria mea. Sufficit talem magistrum habuisse. Domina mater te salutat.

additamentum 8

[250 VdH; 1.20 Haines]

Ὡ φίλε παῖ, τρίτον δὴ σοι τοῦτο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιστέλλω, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ Λυσίου τοῦ Κεφάλου, δεύτερον δὲ διὰ Πλάτωνος τοῦ σοφοῦ, τὸ δὲ τρίτον διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ξένου ἀνδρός, τὴν μὲν φωνὴν ὀλίγου δεῖν βαρβάρου, τὴν δὲ γνώμην, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, οὐ πάνυ ἀξυνέτου. γράφω δὲ νῦν οὐδέν τι τῶν πρότερον γεγραμμένων ἐραπτόμενος, μηδὲ ἀμελήσης τοῦ λόγου ὡς παλλιλογοῦντος. εἰ δέ σοι δόξει τῶν πρότερον διὰ Λυσίου καὶ Πλάτωνος ἐπεσταλμένων πλείω τάδε εἶναι, ἔστω σοι τεκμήριον ὡς εὐλογα ἀξιῶ, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπορῶ λόγων. προσέχοις δ' ἂν ἤδη τὸν νοῦν, εἰ καινὰ τε ἅμα καὶ δίκαια λέγω.

Ἔοικας, ὦ παῖ, πρὸ τοῦ λόγου πάντως βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν, τί δὴ ποτέ γε μὴ ἐρῶν ἐγὼ μετὰ τοσαύτης σπουδῆς γλίχομαι τυχεῖν ὧνπερ οἱ ἐρῶντες. τουτογὶ δὴ σοι φράσω πρῶτον, ὅπως γε ἔχει. οὐ μὰ Δία πέφυκεν ὁρᾶν ὀξύτερον οὐτοσὶ ὁ πάνυ ἐραστής ἐμοῦ τοῦ μὴ ἐρῶντος, ἀλλ' ἔγωγε τοῦ σοῦ κάλλους αἰσθομαι οὐδενὸς ἥττον τῶν ἄλλων. δυνάμην δ' ἂν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τούτου καὶ πολὺ ἀκριβέστερον. ὅπερ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πυρεττόντων καὶ τῶν εὖ μάλα ἐν παλαιίστρα γυμνασασμένων ὁρῶμεν, οὐκ ἐξ ὁμοίας αἰτίας ταῦτόν συνβαίνειν. διψῶσιν μὲν γὰρ ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ νόσου, ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ γυμνασιῶν· τοιάνδε τινὰ κάμοι <...>

[duae saltem paginae desunt]

<...>λειτον τε ἅμα καὶ ὀλισθον.

Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔμοιγε ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ πρόσσει οὐδὲ ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τινὶ ὁμιλήσεις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ἀγαθῷ. καὶ ὠφελοῦνται γὰρ καὶ διασώζονται οἱ καλοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ ἐρώντων μάλλον, ὥσπερ τὰ φυτὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων. οὐ γὰρ ἐρῶσιν οὔτε πηγαὶ οὔτε ποταμοὶ τῶν φυτῶν, ἀλλὰ παριόντες οὕτω δὴ καὶ παραρρέοντες ἀνθεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ θάλλειν παρεσκεύασαν. χρήματα δὴ τὰ μὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ διδόμενα δικαίως ἂν καλοῖης δῶρα, τὰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνου λύτρα. μάντεων δὲ παῖδές φασιν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἡδίους εἶναι τῶν θυσιῶν τὰς χαριστηρίους ἢ τὰς μελιχίους· ὧν τὰς μὲν οἱ εὐτυχοῦντες ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τε καὶ κτήσει τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὰς δὲ οἱ κακῶς

πράττοντες ἐπὶ ἀποτροπῇ τῶν δεινῶν θύουσιν. τάδε μὲν περὶ τῶν
συνφερόντων καὶ τῶν σοί τε κἀκεῖνῳ ὠφελίμων εἰρήσθω. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο δίκαιος
ἐστὶν τυχεῖν τῆς παρὰ σοῦ βοηθείας ἡρεῖσω σὺ τοῦτο . .
. . . . αὐτῷ πονηρῷ δ' ἐτεκτῆνω καὶ ἐμηχανήσω τὰς Θετταλάς
. μὲν ὦν ἐρᾷς εἶπε . .
. τότε κον ἀναίτιος τινὸς διὰ τὴν
αὐτῷ κατακο κο πλὴν εἰ μὴ τι ὀφθεῖς ἡδίκηκας.

Μὴ ἀγνόει δὲ καὶ ἀδικηθεὶς αὐτὸς καὶ ὕβριζόμενος οὐ μετρίαν ἤδη ταύτην
ὕβριν, τὸ ἅπαντας εἰδέναι τε καὶ φανερῶς οὕτως διαλέγεσθαι, ὅτι σου εἴη ὁδε
ἐραστής· φθάνεις δὲ καὶ πρὶν τι τῶν τοιῶνδε πρᾶξι, τοῦνομα τῆς πράξεως
ὑπομένων. καλοῦσί γ' οὖν σε οἱ πλείστοι τῶν πολιτῶν τὸν τοῦδε ἐρώμενον·
ἐγὼ δέ σοι διαφυλάξω τοῦνομα καθαρὸν καὶ ἀνύβριστον. καλὸς γάρ, οὐχὶ ὁ
ἐρώμενος τό γε κατ' ἐμὲ ὀνομασθήσει. εἰ δὲ δὴ τούτῳ ὥς δικαίῳ τινὶ
χρήσεται, ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμεῖ, ἴστω, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖ μᾶλλον ἀλλὰ
ἰταμώτερον. τὰς δὲ μυίας καὶ τὰς ἐμπίδας μάλιστα ἀποσοβοῦμεν καὶ
ἀπωθοῦμεθα, ὅτι ἀναιδέστατα καὶ ἰταμώτατα ἐπιπέτονται. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ
θηρία ἐπίσταται φεύγειν μάλιστα πάντων τοὺς κυνηγέτας, καὶ τὰ πτηνὰ τοὺς
θηρευτάς· καὶ πάντα δὴ τὰ ζῶα τούτους μάλιστα ἐκτρέπεται τοὺς μάλιστα
ἐνεδρεύοντας καὶ διώκοντας.

Εἰ δὲ τις οἶται ἐνδοξότερον καὶ ἐντιμότερον εἶναι τὸ κάλλος διὰ τοὺς
ἐραστάς, τοῦ παντὸς *διαμαρτάνει*. κινδυνεύετε μὲν γὰρ οἱ καλοὶ περὶ τοῦ
κάλλους τῆς ἐς τοὺς ἀκούοντας πίστεως διὰ τοὺς ἐρῶντας, δι' ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς
ἄλλους βεβαιωτέραν τὴν δόξαν κέκτησθε. εἰ γοῦν τις τῶν μηδέπω σε
ἑωρακότων πυνθάνοιτο, ὁποῖός τις εἴης τὴν ὄψιν, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἂν πιστεῦσαι
ἐπαινοῦντι, μαθὼν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐρῶ· τῷ δὲ ἀπιστήσαι, ὥς οὐκ ἀληθῶς ἀλλ'
ἐρωτικῶς ἐπαινοῦντι. ὅσοις μὲν οὖν λώβῃ τις σώματος καὶ αἰσχος καὶ
ἀμορφία πρόσσεστιν, εὐξαιντο ἂν εἰκότως ἐραστὰς αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν
ὑπ' ἄλλων θεραπεύοιντο ἢ τῶν κατ' ἐρωτικὴν λύτταν καὶ ἀνάγκην
προσιόντων. σὺ δ' ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε κάλλει οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅτι καρπώσει πλέον ὑπ'
ἐρωτος. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἤττον δέονταί σου οἱ μὴ ἐρῶντες.

Ἀχρεῖοι δὲ ἢ οἱ ἐρασταὶ τοῖς ὄντως καλοῖς οὐδὲν ἤττον ἢ τοῖς δικαίως
ἐπαινουμένοις οἱ κόλακες· ἀρετῇ δὲ καὶ δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ καὶ κέρδος. κόσμος
θαλάττη μὲν ναῦται καὶ κυβερνήται καὶ τρηήραρχοι καὶ ἔμποροι καὶ οἱ ἄλλως
πλέοντες, οὐ μὰ Δία δελφῖνες, οἷς ἀδύνατον τὸ ζῆν ὅτι μὴ ἐν θαλάττῃ, καλοῖς
δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ τινάλλως ἐπαινοῦντες καὶ ἀσπαζόμενοι, οὐχὶ ἐρασταί, οἷς ἀβίωτον

ἂν εἴη στερομένοις τῶν παιδικῶν. εὖροις δ' ἂν σκοπῶν πλείστης ἀδοξίας αἰτίους μὲν ὄντας τοὺς ἐραστάς· ἀδοξίαν δὲ φεύγειν ἅπαντας μὲν χρή τοὺς εὐφρονοῦντας, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς νέους, οἷς ἐπὶ μακρότερον ἐνκείσεται τὸ κακὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ μακροῦ βίου προσπεσόν.

Ὡςπερ οὖν ἱερῶν καὶ θυσίας, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ βίου τοὺς ἀρχομένους εὐλογίας μάλιστα πρέπει ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῖς τῶν εἰς ἐσχάτην ἀδοξίαν . . τούτους δὴ τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἐραστάς ἐξὸν εἰ πέντε καὶ καπ ανεικ νον χρήμα ἐρασταῖς ατ

. α του

. δετης

. σιε

. αυτο

ἰσχυροὶ τεσ νεκ

. δὲ καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐρῶντες διὰ τῶν τοιῶνδε φορημάτων οὐκ ἐκείνους τιμῶσιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἀλαζονεύονται τε καὶ ἐπιδείκνυνται, καὶ ὥς εἰπεῖν ἐξορχοῦνται τὸν ἔρωτα. συγγράφει δέ, ὥς φασιν, ὁ σὸς ἐραστὴς ἐρωτικά τινα περὶ σοῦ συγγράμματα, ὥς τούτῳ δὴ μάλιστα σε δελεάσω καὶ προσαξόμενος καὶ αἰρήσω· τὰ δ' ἔστιν αἵσχη καὶ ὀνειδὴ καὶ βοή τις ἀκόλαστος ὑπὸ οἴστρου προπεμπομένη, ὅποιαι θηρῶν ἢ βοσκημάτων ὑπὸ ἔρωτος βρυχωμένων ἢ χρεμετιζόντων ἢ μυκωμένων ἢ ὠρυομένων. τούτοις ἔοικεν τὰ τῶν ἐρώντων ἅσματα. εἰ γοῦν ἐπιτρέψαις αὐτὸν τῷ ἐραστῇ χρῆσθαι ὅπου καὶ ὅποτε βούλοιτο, οὐτ' ἂν καιρὸν περιμείνας ἐπιτήδειον οὔτε τόπον οὔτε σχολὴν οὔτε ἐρημίαν, ἀλλὰ θηρίου δίκην ὑπὸ λύττης εὐθὺς ἴοιτο ἂν καὶ βαίνειν προθυμοῖτο μηδὲν αἰδούμενος.

Τοῦτο ἔτι προσθεὶς καταπαύσω τὸν λόγον, ὅτι πάντα θεῶν δῶρα καὶ ἔργα, ὅσα ἐς ἀνθρώπων χρειάν τε καὶ τέρψιν καὶ ὠφέλειαν ἀφίκται, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν πάνυ καὶ πάντῃ θεῖα, γῆν φημι καὶ οὐρανὸν καὶ ἥλιον καὶ θάλατταν, ὑμνεῖν μὲν καὶ θαυμάζειν πεφύκαμεν, ἐρᾶν δὲ οὐ· καλῶν δέ τινων φανλοτέρων καὶ ἀτιμοτέρας μοίρας τετυχηκότων, τούτων ἤδη φθόνος καὶ ἔρωος καὶ ζῆλος καὶ ἥμερος ἄπτεται. καὶ οἱ μὲν τινες κέρδους ἐρῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ὄψων αὖ, οἱ δὲ οἴνου.

ἐν δὴ τῷ τοιῷδε ἀριθμῷ καὶ μερίδι καθίσταται τὸ κάλλος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐρώντων ὁμοῖον κέρδει καὶ ὄψῳ καὶ μέθῃ αὖ· ὑπὸ δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν θαυμαζόντων μὲν, μὴ ἐρώντων δέ, ὅμοιον ἡλίῳ καὶ οὐρανῷ καὶ γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ· τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα παντὸς ἔρωτος κρείττω καὶ ὑπέρτερα.

Ἐν τί σοι φράσω πρὸς τοῦτοις, ὃ καὶ σὺ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους λέγων παῖδας πιθανὸς εἶναι δόξεις. εἰκὸς δέ σε ἢ παρὰ μητρὸς ἢ τῶν ἀναθρεψαμένων μὴ ἀνήκοον εἶναι, ὅτι τῶν ἀνθῶν ἐστὶν τι, ὃ δὴ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐρᾷ καὶ πάσχει τὰ τῶν ἐρώντων, ἀνατέλλοντος ἐπαιρόμενον καὶ πορευομένου περιτρεπόμενον, δύνοντος δὲ καταστρεφόμενον· ἄλλ' οὐδέν γε πλέον ἀπολαύει, οὐδὲ εὐμενεστέρου πειρᾶται διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦ ἡλίου. ἀτιμότατον γοῦν ἐστὶν φυτῶν καὶ ἀνθῶν οὔτε εἰς ἐορταζόντων θαλίας οὔτ' εἰς στεφάνους θεῶν ἢ ἀνθρώπων παραλαμβόμενον.

Ἔοικας, ὦ παῖ, τὸ ἄνθος τοῦτο ἰδεῖν ἐθέλειν· ἄλλ' ἔγωγέ σοι ἐπιδείξω, εἰ ἔξω τείχους πρὸς τὸν Ἴλισον ἅμα ἅμφω βαδίσαιμεν.

<...> logi clarus <...> aucta <...> loteras

..... etes dubi rablo

statalataemanali nemini linio.

<...>

auctoritas textus

Lectori salutem.

Epistolas Frontonianas, quae omnium, ut spero, gaudio usuique sint, ego, grammaticus Cimber, summa cura summoque labore mea manu hoc in volumine scripsi. Deposco igitur, ne hunc textum sine venia atque nomine hujus scriptoris in aliis locis divulgaveris. Sin minus, a Domino nostro indulgentissimo precor, ut te paeniteat flagitiumque istud quam primum corrigas, ne conscientia tibi peccati aetatem, quae superest, omnem discruciet, neve lis a iudicio decernenda sit. Quae verba autem ad te, vir honestissime, nullo modo pertinent, qui hoc textu privatus utitur. Vale, domine optime!

The Biography



The engraving of 'The angel of death striking a door during the plague of Rome' by Levasseur after Jules-Elie Delaunay — some historians believe Fronto died in the late 160's, as a result of the Antonine Plague that followed the Parthian War.

INTRODUCTION TO FRONTO by C. R. Haines



TIME has not dealt kindly with Fronto. For more than a millennium and a half his name stood high in the lists of fame. On the strength of ancient testimony he was looked upon as the Cicero of his age; if not indeed his equal, yet as an Isocrates to a Demosthenes. Eumenius,¹ writing late in the third century, described him as “not the second but the alternative glory of Roman eloquence.” A century or more later he is singled out by Macrobius² as the representative of the plain, precise, matter-of-fact style, contrasted with the copious, in which Cicero is supreme, the laconic, which is the province of Sallust, and the rich and florid, in which Pliny the Younger and Symmachus luxuriate.

Jerome³ about the same time, speaks of the subtleties of Quintilian, the fluency of Cicero, the serious dignity of Fronto, and the smooth periods of Pliny. A little later Claudius Mamertus⁴ recommends Plautus for elegance, Cato for *gravitas*, Gracchus for pungency, Chrysippus for dialectical skill, Cicero for eloquence, and Fronto for splendour (*pompa*). Sidonius Apollinaris⁵ attributes *gravitas* to Fronto and *pondus* to Apuleius.

Though Fronto’s reputation stood so high for 300 years after his death, scarcely a line of his works had survived, as it seemed, to modern times, until in 1815 Cardinal Mai discovered in the Imperial Library at Milan a palimpsest MS. containing many of his letters, the existence of which in classical times had indeed been occasionally intimated, though little was known of their contents.

When deciphered the work proved to consist mostly of his educational correspondence with his royal pupils, afterwards the joint Emperors Marcus Antoninus and Lucius Verus. There were included, however, one or two letters between Fronto and their adoptive father, the Emperor Pius, and some, chiefly commendatory, letters to the orator’s friends, of whom the only one whose answer is preserved was the historian Appian. Some of the letters are in Greek. In judging this correspondence it should not be forgotten that Fronto disclaims the habit of letter-writing, and declares that no one could be a worse correspondent than himself.⁶

It would, therefore, not be fair to estimate Fronto's eminence as an orator from these letters alone, though, of course, they throw light on his mind and powers in general, and his theory of rhetorical art in particular. They labour under the limitation of having been mostly written to pupils, and chiefly in connexion with their studies. They are of a private, domestic, and professional nature, and coloured by the relationship between a courtly master and his royal scholars.

The early editors of the book, who were disappointed with the nature and contents of the work, had no good word to say for it or its author, but their indignation and contempt were certainly not justified.⁷ The volume was well worth recovering and is here presented to the English reader for the first time.

On discovering the MS. in 1815, Mai, the librarian of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, lost no time in producing his first edition of it. But the work was done too hastily and carelessly. He also seems to have injured the MS. by a too free use of reagents to bring out the faded characters.⁸

Becoming librarian of the Vatican library a few years later, Mai found a second volume containing more leaves of the original Fronto Codex. These he published with the previous portion in 1823. The Vatican leaves being in better condition than the Ambrosian ones, and the editor besides being now more skilful in deciphering the palimpsest, and having taken more pains with his work, the result was more satisfactory. Moreover, the older portion was somewhat improved through a fresh inspection of the MS. by Peter Mazuchelli at Milan, and also because Mai availed himself freely of the critical labours of Niebuhr, Heindorf, and Buttmann on the moiety already published. In their edition of 1816 they had sometimes divined, without seeing the MS., the correct reading, which Mai had missed with it under his eyes.

The old Codex of Fronto must have been dismembered and its leaves mixed with others of the same kind before being used for a second writing upon them. For the two volumes of the *Acta Concilii* of the first Council of Chalcedon, in 451 A.D., in which the Fronto fragments are found, contain besides the Fronto leaves, which are the most numerous, parts of seven speeches of Symmachus, a portion of Pliny's *Panegyric*, some scholia on Cicero, Moeso-Gothic notes on St. John's Gospel, fragments of a tract on the Arian Controversy, and a single page apiece of Juvenal and Persius. The

monks in using the leaves for a second script have generally turned them upside down. When this is not the case, the writing is more difficult to read.

On the first page of both volumes is found the inscription, *Liber S. Columbani e Bobio*. Bobbio lies in a secluded valley of the Pennine Alps, near the scene of the battle of the Trebia, where Saint Columban founded a monastery at the beginning of the seventh century, and formed a good library containing not only Latin works in Saxon characters but many classical authors in their own script, such as Cicero, Juvenal, Persius, and Fronto. The Fronto Codex was, we may suppose, purchased by Columban in Italy. In the same library there was another book of Fronto's, entitled *Cornelii Frontonis Elegantiae Latinae*, which was extant as late as 1494.⁹ It was lexicographically arranged. Possibly it was one of the works of Fronto mentioned below.

The Vatican volume (No. 5750), contains a Latin version of the *Acta* of the Council of Chalcedon to nearly the end of the first session, written about the tenth century. The volume contained 292 leaves of which two are missing at the beginning and four at the end.

The Ambrosian volume (E. 147) is larger and had 180 pages of which are now wanting twelve at the opening and sixteen at the close. There must have been a third volume of the *Acta*, somewhat smaller than the others, possibly of about 230 pages, the whole work thus comprising with the other two volumes about 1000 leaves.

The Fronto part of the Vatican volume, as we have it, is 106 leaves, of the Ambrosian, 282. The thirty-four pages missing from these two volumes would probably have contained about twenty Fronto leaves. As the Fronto leaves are more numerous in the Ambrosian volume than in the Vatican according to the proportion 106:286 : 282:452, it is likely that in the third volume there would have been a corresponding increase of them. The whole might therefore have contained about 580 Fronto leaves. But the quaternion marks, still visible in the margin of the MS., show that there were at least 4212 quaternions or 680 pages, in the original Fronto Codex.¹⁰ Even if the third volume were forthcoming, we should still be about one-seventh part short of the Fronto Codex. What we have contains something like four-sevenths of the whole work, but some part of this has not been deciphered, and not a little is obliterated for ever.

Dr. Hauler, of Vienna, has been engaged upon the study of the MS. for more than twenty years, and we must wait for the final word on our author until his edition is published. It will certainly revolutionize the text. He has been given unusual facilities by the Italian authorities in his work, and the leaves of the Vatican MS. have been especially washed, cleaned and pressed for the purpose of photographing it in facsimile.

As far as possible the new readings which Dr. Hauler has made public in various periodicals have been incorporated in this work, together with the important, if rather hastily compiled, notes of a fresh collation of the MS. by the Dutch scholar, Professor Brakman. In spite of Dr. Hauler's keen eyesight and prodigious industry, certain of his restorations do not command complete confidence, especially in cases where we find the other inspectors of the Codex, Mai, du Rieu, and Brakman supporting an entirely different reading.

The original Fronto Codex has two columns of writing to each page, each column containing twenty-four lines of fifteen to twenty-one letters each.¹¹

As the Greek in the Codex is written without accents, the MS. must have been produced before the seventh century, and probably in the sixth. The alterations made by the reviser of the copy show that the copyist was a careless one; nor did the corrector notice all the errors. Some letters are given twice over,¹² as if a second exemplar had been used.

A few of the Fronto leaves seem themselves to have had a previous writing on them,¹³ and these must themselves have been palimpsests before being used for the *Acta Concilii*. Moreover, our Codex of Fronto was revised and annotated by a certain Caecilius. Besides correcting mistakes, and adding various readings from at least two other exemplars,¹⁴ he gives explanatory glosses and occasionally suggests emendations.¹⁵ Further, to our manifest advantage, he used the margins, which are free from the second writing, for setting down numerous words or passages, that struck him, sometimes verbatim, sometimes in an abbreviated or paraphrased form. The writing of the text and the corrections are in uncial letters, the marginal additions in sloping cursive. Caecilius endorsed each separate section of the work except the *Epistulae Graecae* and (apparently by inadvertence) *Ad Verum Imp.* i.

Indices were probably prefixed to all the separate books of letters, of which are extant only those to *Ad M. Caes.* iv., v; *Ad Anton. Imp.* i.; *Ad Plum*; *Ad Amicos* i., ii. They are valuable as supplying the opening words of letters that

are lost, but they do not in all cases seem to correspond with the succeeding letters.

From Fronto to Marcus as Caesar there are fifty-six letters or parts of letters, and nine to him as Emperor, besides the four *De Eloquentia*. From Marcus seventy-one and seven respectively. To Verus as Emperor eight, and six from him, and six to Pius with two answers. There are forty letters to friends, two being in Greek, and one answer (from Appian); two in Greek to the mother of Marcus; the set piece on Arion; the two specimens of *nugalia*, the *De Bello Parthico*, the *Principia Historiae*, and the Greek λόγος ἐρωτικός.

There are few traces of Fronto's letters in such subsequent writers as have descended to us. It is certain that Minucius Felix, who was probably a fellow-countryman of Fronto's, knew something of him, for in his *Octavius* he quotes his declamation against the Christians, and calls him *Cirtensis noster*,¹⁶ Capitolinus,¹⁷ or his authority Marius Maximus, probably had an eye on what Fronto says, when he mentions the habit that Marcus had of reading in the theatre, and where he calls him *durus*. However that may be, it can hardly be doubted that Nazarius¹⁸ in his Panegyric on Constantine recalls, though in a confused way, what Fronto says about the Parthian king and Verus in his *Principia Historiae*. Symmachus too, another orator of the same century, shews some signs of being acquainted with Fronto. Augustine, himself an African, is supposed in a letter to the *Cirtenses* to refer to the mention of Polemo by Fronto.¹⁹

Servius, the fifth-century commentator on Vergil, quotes Fronto for one or two usages, but his quotations cannot be identified with any passages in our extant letters. A contemporary grammarian, Charisius,²⁰ however, undoubtedly quotes from Fronto's letters as we have them. P. Consentius, another grammarian of the same period, quotes a sentence referring to Rheims, which may very possibly come from a lost letter to Victorinus. Niebuhr thought that Sidonius Apollinaris, a learned and eloquent bishop of the fifth century, imitated Fronto here and there.

The last author to refer to Fronto was John of Salisbury in the twelfth century. He quotes an obscure remark of his concerning Seneca, that "he was so successful in abolishing error that he seemed almost to create again an age of gold and call down the Gods from heaven to live among men." But Fronto, as we know him, has no word of praise for Seneca.

We cannot tell who made and published this collection of letters, but it is impossible to subscribe to the view of Mommsen that it was Fronto himself.²¹ Several letters are misplaced: one that was certainly to the Emperor with his answer appears under the heading *Ad M. Caesarem*; and some that are related to one another are widely separated. Mommsen considered that the letters were in the main arranged chronologically, but this can only be allowed with large deductions. For instance, some of the earliest letters come quite at the end of the book. The correspondence with Pius is put after that with his successors. But there is obviously some attempt at systematic arrangement. The letters that belong to the year of Fronto's consulship are grouped together and placed first. In more than one case several letters bearing on a single subject are found placed in juxtaposition in their proper order, as with the letters relating to Herodes.²² In the separate books the letters are arranged, with obvious exceptions however, in some chronological order; but the letters of a second book, for instance, do not follow those of the first, but begin a new series. The various ailments, also, of Marcus and Fronto are a guide in some cases. Some letters can be dated by means of the speeches of Marcus alluded to in them. As for instance the mention of his Caesar speech by Marcus in *Ep. Graec.* 6 (p. 18) dates this letter as written in 139-140. The speech referred to in *Ad M. Caes.* iii. 7 (p. 34) is probably a speech of thanks for his first consulship in 140, and the one in v. 1, 2, that for his second consulship in 145 or for the *Trib. Potestas* in 147.²³

The only letters which can be dated to a precise year, except those which mention Fronto's consulship, are *Ad M. Caes.* i. 8, written when Marcus was twenty-two, and *Ad M. Caes.* iv. 13,²⁴ written when he was twenty-four. The latter forms a sort of turning point, not only in the correspondence but also in the life of Marcus. To Fronto's infinite chagrin he broke with rhetoric and betook himself wholly to philosophy, at about the time (147 A.D.) when he became in reality, though not in name, co-emperor. At all events, whether from a slight coolness in their relations or owing to increasing ill-health on the part of Fronto and increasing duties on that of Marcus, the character of the correspondence changes with Book V. Most of the letters are short, some being mere messages, and many of a quite trivial character. The illnesses and ailments of master and pupil figure largely in them. Fronto's rheumatism, for it was this and not gout, had become chronic by that time.

On the accession of Marcus and Lucius the correspondence resumes some of its former character. There are no letters to Lucius earlier than 161, when he became Emperor, but Fronto must have written to him often enough before. But only the later ones were preserved, as the main object of the publication seems to have been to shew Fronto's intimate relations with the Court. We could wish for more correspondence with Pius, but two of Fronto's letters to him are among the best of the series.

Fronto became tutor to Marcus after his adoption by Hadrian in 138. None of the letters we have can be dated before 139, when Marcus became Caesar. The marriage of Marcus, which took place most probably in 145, and the various births of his children enable us to give approximate dates to many of the letters in Book V. The letters *Ad Amicos* can only be dated with reference to the proconsulships or other governorships of the recipients, many of them being letters commendatory, recommending friends to the notice of the governor of a province.

The more important oratorical and historical pieces, with the letters on the Albian holiday and the death of Fronto's grandson, a characteristic and interesting piece, fall between 161 and 166, in which year or the next Fronto probably died.

Excluding Fronto himself, who could have collected and published the correspondence? The only person in a position to do this seems to be Aufidius Victorinus, the life-long friend of Marcus and Fronto's son-in-law. We have evidence that Fronto kept copies of some of his letters, and Victorinus, as Fronto's heir and one of the leading men in the reign of Commodus, was in a specially favourable position for acting as his father-in-law's literary executor.

The object of the compilation was not only to bring into prominence the position of Fronto as *Magister* and *Amicus* to the Imperial Brothers, but also to put on record his views on oratorical and literary style, in fact his whole theory of rhetoric, which there is no reason to think he ever formulated in any special treatise.

The letters are valuable not only for what they tell us of Fronto and the light they shed on the literary tendencies of the age, but also for their picture of the young Marcus, whose character and rule will always have an interest for mankind. As Pater has said, these letters recall for us "the long buried fragrance of a famous friendship of the ancient world." We find here a young

man and an older one, with a genuine affection for one another, exchanging kindly thoughts on their children, their health, the art of rhetoric, and the ancient writers of their country, while here and there we get a glimpse into the *penetralia* of the imperial court, or read a page from country life at Lorium or a visit to the seaside.²⁵

A hundred years ago Mai²⁶ expressed a confident expectation that, one day the letters would be arranged in their approximate chronological order. A first attempt has here been made to do this.²⁷

ENDNOTES.

¹ Paneg. Const. 14: Romanae eloquentiae non secundum sed alterum decus.

² Saturnalia, v. 1. He says *tenuis quidam et siccus et sobrius amat quandam dicendi frugalitatem*, and he ascribes the *siccum* genus to Fronto, as an orator, no doubt. This was the style of Lysias.

³ Epist. 12: *gravitatem Frontonis*.

⁴ Ep. ad Sepandum.

⁵ Epist. iv. 3.

⁶ Ad Amicos, i. 18.

⁷ See Hauler, *Wien. Stud.* (1912), 24. p. 259; Fröhner, *Phil.* v. 1889; and Brock, *Studies in Fronto*, p. 5, for a much more favourable view.

⁸ Hauler, *Wien. Stud.* 12 and 31 (p. 267), and Naber, *Prolog.* viii., xiv. But *Stud. Epist.* ad Klussum. p. 6, seems to differ on this point.

⁹ See Raphael Maffaeus Volaterranus, *Geogr.* iv. ad finem.

¹⁰ The speeches of Fronto must have been in a separate Codex, if in the Bobbio library at all.

¹¹ The Fronto leaves in the Vat. volume are numbered 1–4, 13–16, 29, 30, 79–128, 131, 132, 137, 138, 141–160, 165, 168, 173, 180, 185–190, 227, 228, 241, 242; in the Ambrosian, 55–76, 81–110, 133–138, 143–152, 155–158, 161–163, 179, 182, 195–198, 213–262, 287–308, 311–314, 319–356, 373–408, 411–414, 417–436, 443–446.

¹² e.g. Epist. Graec. 1 is found in Ambr. 56, Vat. 166, 165, and Ambr. 157, 158, 163, 164.

¹³ See Hauler, *Vers. d. deut. Phil.* 41, 1895, p. 85. He thinks a speech of Hadrian's underlay a page of the *Principia Historiae* in the Fronto Codex.

¹⁴ There are over forty of these *variae lectiones*.

¹⁵ The corrector did not revise the Greek letters, but there is a remarkable gloss at the beginning of *Ep. Graec.* 1.

¹⁶ Mai, *Pref.* to ed. 1823, p. xxxiii., and Schanz, *Rhein. Mus.* 1895, p. 133, adduce certain supposed parallelisms. If there is anything in them, the Octavius could not have been written before 166 at least.

¹⁷ *Vit. Mar.* xv. and xxii. 5; see below, p. 206.

¹⁸ He speaks of Antoninus, but he means Lucius Verus.

¹⁹ *Epist.* 144: *et nos ex illis litteris recordamur*.

²⁰ See Index. He also quotes from Fronto's speech, *Pro Ptolemaeensibus*.

²¹ *Hermes*, viii. p. 201.

²² See pp. 58 f.

²³ For further discussion of this subject, see article by C. R. Haines, "On the Chronology of the Fronto Correspondence," in the *Classical Quarterly* for April, 1914, vol. viii., pp. 113 ff.

²⁴ See pp. 37, 217.

²⁵ For some interesting and attractive items, see pp. 58-66, 150, 174-184, the *De Fer. Als.*, the *De Nepote Amisso*, etc.

²⁶ *Pref.* to ed. of 1823, p. xviii.

²⁷ For various views on the chronology, see Mommsen in *Herm.* viii. pp. 198 ff.; Brakman in *Frontoniana*, ii. pp. 24-42; Pauly-Wissowa under "Fronto"; Naber, *Proleg.* xx.-xxxi.

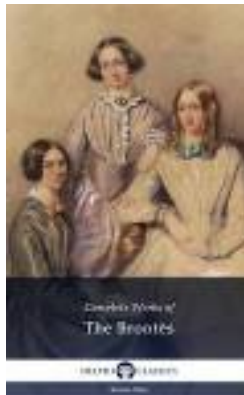
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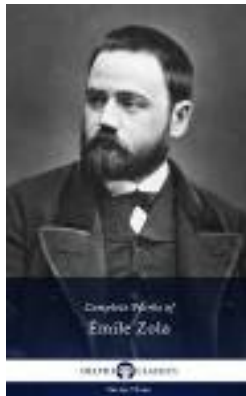
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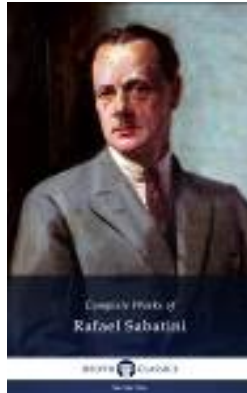
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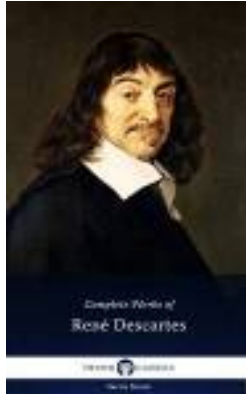
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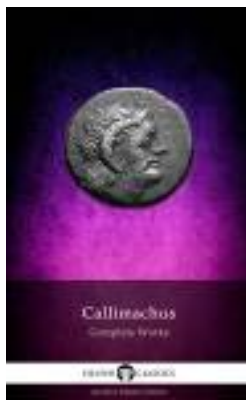
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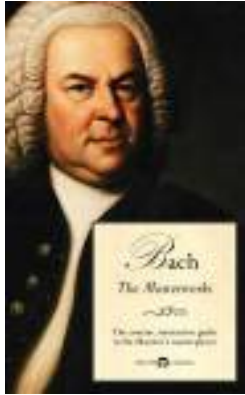


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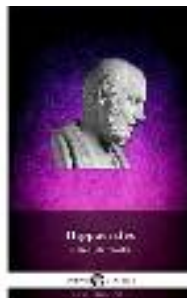
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Pieter Bruegel the Elder
Pindar
Piotr Illitch Tchaïkovsky
Plato
Plautus
Pliny the Elder
Pliny the Younger
Plotinus
Plutarch
Polybius
Procopius
Propertius
Quintus Curtius Rufus
Quintus Smyrnaeus
R. Austin Freeman

R. D. Blackmore
R. M. Ballantyne
R. S. Surtees
Rabindranath Tagore
Radclyffe Hall
Rafael Sabatini
Ralph Waldo Emerson
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Rembrandt van Rijn
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Richard Wagner
Robert Browning
Robert Burns
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Robert Louis Stevenson
Robert Southey
Robert W. Chambers
Rudyard Kipling
Rumi
Rupert Brooke
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Sallust
Samuel Butler
Samuel Johnson
Samuel Pepys
Samuel Richardson
Samuel Taylor Coleridge
Sandro Botticelli
Sappho
Sara Teasdale
Sax Rohmer
Seneca the Younger
Septuagint
Sheridan Le Fanu
Sidonius
Sigmund Freud
Sir Arthur Conan Doyle
Sir Issac Newton
Sir Philip Sidney

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Sir Thomas Malory
Sir Thomas More
Sir Thomas Wyatt
Sir Walter Raleigh
Sir Walter Scott
Sophocles
Stanley J. Weyman
Statius
Stendhal
Stephen Crane
Stephen Leacock
Strabo
Suetonius
T. S. Eliot
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Talbot Mundy
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Tertullian
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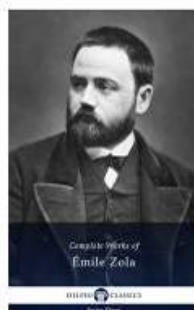
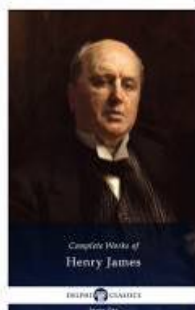
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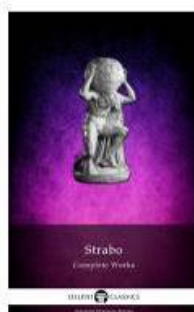
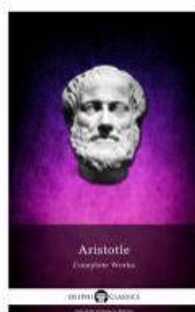
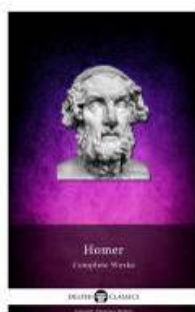
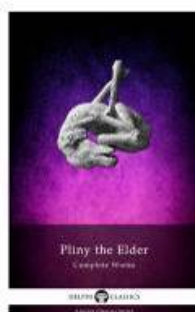
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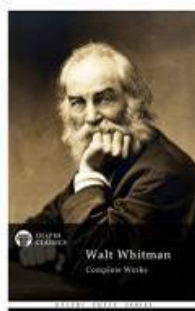
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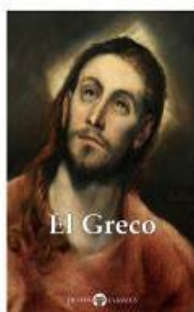
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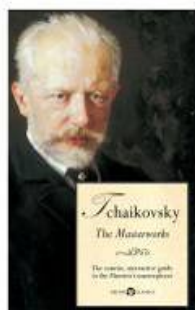
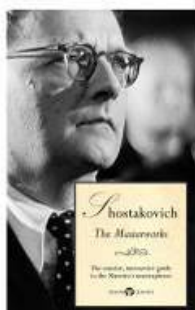
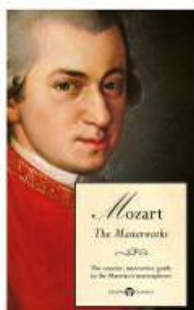
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